Amusing, interesting, and curious: the paper peepshow in England, 1825-1851

Amusing, Interesting, and Curious: The Paper Peepshow in England, 1825-1851

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I declare that the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the origin and evolution of the paper peepshow in nineteenth-century England. It focuses on the second quarter of the nineteenth century, from 1825, when the first known English paper peepshow was published, to 1851, when the popularity of this medium started to dwindle.

Challenging the existing scholarship that considers the paper peepshow either as a predecessor of children's pop-up books or an unimportant element in the teleology leading to the invention of the cinema, this thesis argues that the paper peepshow is a medium in its own right. As an optical toy, but also an example of print culture, it had connections with various media that were also part of the visual culture in England in this period. This rich intermedial relationship constitutes one of the major aspects of investigation both in the first chapter that traces the genealogy of the paper peepshow and in the subsequent case studies that focus on its representation of specific topics. Through discussing the depiction of a diverse range of themes, this thesis highlights that the emergence of the paper peepshow was heavily influenced by other forms of nineteenth-century visual representation or entertainment. At the same time, in the course of the development of the paper peepshow, publishers also often designed their products in response to or even by refashioning other media, in order to keep their products popular on the competitive market.

Another focus is the consumption of the paper peepshow. While the visual is an essential part of the experience of using this medium, other sensory elements, especially the touch, play a crucial role too. Through analysing these sensations in combination with different subject matter depicted in paper peepshows, this thesis investigates issues such as the embodied spectatorship, affordances, and the material and materiality of a medium.

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Introduction

What is a paper peepshow? For many, as I have found out after giving papers at different conferences, it is commonly imagined to be some kind of erotic visual representation of naked women. Almost inevitably, there would be a comment from the audience after my talk that started with: 'When you said "peepshow", I thought we were going to see some saucy images!'

This perception could not have been more wrong. Before investigating how such erroneous association has become so widespread, it is helpful to define what a paper peepshow is. Put on the market on 1 May 1825, *The Areaorama, a View in the Regent's Park* (hereafter *A View in the Regent's Park*)[1] is the earliest known paper peepshow published in Britain.[2] Its advertisement, based on which I formulate the title of this thesis, describes this work as 'an amusing and interesting article worthy the attention of the curious.'[3] Flat when closed, this object measures slightly larger than a piece of A6-size paper. Its front-face depicts a scene of lush vegetation surrounding a cave, in which there sits an irregularly-shaped opening—the peep-hole (Fig. 0.1).[4] When the front-face is lifted, a three-dimensional space springs into existence, as the inside of the cave turns out to be a double-shutter that retracts (Fig. 0.2). Arranged one behind another, the six cut-out panels and the back-board are connected by paper bellows on two sides. When we look through the peep-hole with one eye closed, we can see that the panels create the impression of depth and perspective.[5]

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[1] *The Areaorama, a View in the Regent's Park*, published by S. & J. Fuller, hand-coloured etching, 1825, Gestetner 193, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (hereafter the V&A). For most of the paper peepshows discussed in this thesis, more than one copy has been identified, often located at different archives or museums. To keep the footnotes concise, only the collection information about the copy of the work examined in the thesis will be given. Details about other copies can be found in Appendix III. As the appendices do not include non-British paper peepshows, full details of all non-British works cited in the thesis will be given in the footnote. The shortened notes of paper peepshows include only the full title, publisher (or people associated with the production), and year of production.

[2] There are three homemade paper peepshows that might have been made before 1825. They will be examined in Chapter One.

[3] '*The Areaorama*,' *Morning Chronicle*, 30 May 1825, 2, British Library Newspapers, Gale Primary Sources. Note that the title given in the advertisement is spelt differently, as '*The Areaorama, or View of the Regent's Park*.' The same advertisement also appeared in other newspapers of different dates in 1825.

[4] There are different terms used to name the components of a paper peepshow. I adopt the terminology used in Ralph Hyde, *Paper Peepshows: The Jaqueline & Jonathan Gestetner Collection* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2015), 66.

[5] Both the size of the peep-hole and my practical experience of handling paper peepshows in archives suggest that the look through the hole is monocular. Even in cases where there are two peep-holes, they are intended to provide more peep-views instead of enabling a binocular vision, as the distance between the holes is often not suitable for two eyes to see through them at the same time. Moreover, the instruction accompanying one English paper peepshow produced around 1835 indicates that monocular vision was intended by producers. See Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 45, for details.

Subsequent paper peepshows produced in Britain in the rest of the nineteenth century have a structure that is more or less the same as that of *A View in the Regent's Park*. These works typically have an A6 size (those produced after 1850 tend to be slightly larger) and four to six cut-out panels. So far, one hundred-and-eleven nineteenth-century British paper peepshows have been identified, including twenty homemade works.[6] Their subject matters are mostly picturesque landscape, urban scenes or activities, instead of erotic imageries.[7] The front-face images of two German works (Fig. 0.3 and Fig. 0.4), which constitute the only representations of the experience of using paper peepshows in any form or media, suggest that this medium was not always used at home.[8] Nonetheless, judging from its portable design, miniature size, and fragile materiality, it is probable that it was mainly intended to be consumed in private spaces reserved for intimate interaction between family and friends, instead of in public settings. It can hence be categorized as a type of domestic pastime. As paper peepshows were typically priced between five and eight shillings (some cheaper ones were sold at two or three shillings), they were most likely to be purchased by the upper and middle classes.[9] Apart from a few advertisements from publishers, there are practically no English sources of any kind that mentions the paper peepshow in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, which can indicate that it did not occupy a central role in society in this period. However, the fact that such a fragile object has survived in considerable numbers suggests that there must have been

[6] In this thesis, one paper peepshow (sometimes referred to as 'a work') is understood to be a work with a unique title and design (different editions of one work are considered as unique titles, as they do not look identical). When there is more than one surviving copy of a paper peepshow, it is referred to as 'a copy.' Homemade works refer to paper peepshows made by amateur makers. There are two handmade works produced by publishers to test their design, and they are not considered in this thesis as homemade.

[7] See Appendix II for detailed information about the number of British paper peepshows produced in the nineteenth century and a summary of the topics represented.

[8] The nineteenth-century German paper peepshows were quite international, both in terms of the topics they covered and where they were sold. See Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 35-42. Moreover, there were similarities between the visual culture of Germany and Britain in this period. Thus, it is possible to use German works as an indication of how paper peepshows might be used in Britain around the same time.

[9] I use 'classes' instead of 'class' to stress the various segments within each social stratum. There is hardly any evidence about users of paper peepshows in Britain during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and my argument is based primarily on the average price of this medium. In *The Early Victorians, 1832-1851* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), 24-25, J.F.C. Harrison notes that between the 1830s and the early 1850s, the labour aristocracy, a small group at the top end of the working classes, earned thirty to forty shillings a week, and the wages of those one level below ranged from twenty to thirty shillings a week. This means that except for the labour aristocracy, the rest of the working classes would need to spend a significant amount of a day's income just to buy even the cheapest paper peepshow. Thus, it can be argued that the upper and middle classes would be the main consumers of this object. The customer base of paper peepshows depicting the Thames Tunnel after 1843 might have included some members of the working classes, but this should be considered an exception, as discussed in Chapter Four.

quite some works published and that they were probably cherished by their owners. This indicates a certain level of popularity that this medium enjoyed. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the paper peepshow gradually started to fade out from the British market. Apart from Britain, Austria, France, and Germany also saw this medium appearing on the market around the mid-1820s. In the latter two countries, there were a significant amount of works produced in the nineteenth century too.[10]

The misconception about the paper peepshow that I have frequently encountered suggests its under-researched status.[11] The lack of presence of this medium in the public sphere might be one factor that has led to this situation. Until the formation of the Gestetner Collection, which holds more than three hundred and sixty works, at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (hereafter the V&A) in 2016, paper peepshows were either hidden away in private collections or appearing very occasionally in small numbers in public institutions.[12] More importantly, however, it is the existing scholarship that is mostly responsible for the lack of understanding, or misunderstanding, of this object. The extent to which scholars have largely ignored or misinterpreted the paper peepshow can be glimpsed already from the fact that there has never been a unified appellation for it. There was no general term for the paper peepshow in nineteenth-century Britain. The term adopted here, or any phrase including the word 'peepshow,' was not used in association with this medium.[13] Only a few publishers bothered to name their products instead of just giving them a title, coming up with different phrases ranging from 'pocket panorama' and 'perspective view' to 'expanding view.'[14] The situation has replicated itself in

[10] See Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 1-2; 30-42; 56-58, for more details about the origin, production and consumption of paper peepshows in these countries in the nineteenth century.
[11] Apart from Hyde's *Paper Peepshows*, Georg Füsslin et al., *Der Guckkasten: Einblick, Durchblick, Ausblick* (Stuttgard: Füsslin, 1995), especially 62-73, is the only work that discusses the paper peepshow in some detail.
[12] I have tried to be as extensive as possible in identifying British works in collections other than the V&A. For a complete list of collections consulted, see Appendix 1.
[13] In John Plunkett, 'Peepshows for All: Performing Words and the Travelling Showman,' *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 63, no. 1 (2015): 9, he observes that according to *Oxford English Dictionary*, the first use of 'peepshow' appeared in 1801, and references to the word were scarce up until the 1820s. In Hyde's *Paper Peepshows*, 209, *Dean's New Magic Peep Show Picture Book Showing Wonderful & Lifelike Effects of Real Distance & Space: Book I*, published by Dean & Son, hand-coloured wood engraving, 1861, Gestetner 273, the V&A, is identified as the only nineteenth-century work with the name 'peep show.' Yet as will be detailed in Chapter Five, this work should not be considered as a paper peepshow, but a children's book that appropriated the paper peepshow format.
[14] The works associated with these names, as well as the significance of these terms, will be discussed in later chapters. The situation on the Continent was similar, although the term '*optique*' (in France) and '*teleorama*' (in Austria and Germany) were quite popular names and were used by more than one publisher in the respective countries. For details about the nineteenth-century names used for the paper peepshow, see Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 10. See also Füsslin et al., *Der Guckkasten*, 62-3, for a summary of different terms that publishers had for this medium. The two lists contain some names that

modern scholarship, where there are even more terms created for the paper peepshow. They can be roughly divided into two categories: one associated with the word 'peepshow,' either by itself or combined with a descriptive phrase, such as the term 'concertina peepshow;' and one type of names with the word 'book,' including 'tunnel book' and 'peepshow book.'[15] These two types of phrases correspond to the two main disciplines that have been concerning themselves with the investigation of the paper peepshow, film studies and children's literature.[16] The next section will argue why discussions in these two fields have not been sufficient before explaining the reasons for my adoption of the term used in this thesis.

Literature Review

One of the earliest detailed accounts of the paper peepshow dates to 1928, when the British collector Desmond Francis Talbot Coke dedicated a chapter in his book to works in his collection.[17] Coke regards them as optical toys and names them concertina peep-shows. The word 'peep-show' indicates the structural similarity between the paper peepshow and the eighteenth-century peepshow box, a wooden box with a peep-hole and removable perspective prints on the inside, while 'concertina' denotes how the paper peepshow opens out.[18] Coke's association of the paper peepshow with the peepshow box has an enduring influence on subsequent literature by collectors of optical toys, such as Richard Balzer and Basil Harley. Both of them consider the paper peepshow as merely a less sophisticated, cheaper version of the peepshow box.[19] This perception continues to be upheld by film scholars. Since the start of New Film History, a growing number of researchers have started questioning

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do not appear in my archival research and might come from works in private collections. It is also unclear whether the summary in *Der Guckkasten* refers exclusively to nineteenth-century names.

[15] The literature associated with these terms will be discussed in detail in the section below.

[16] That these two disciplines are the main areas of study concerned with the paper peepshow can also be indicated from the nature of the collections where works of this medium can be found. See Appendix I for details.

[17] Desmond Francis Talbot Coke, *Confessions of an Incurable Collector* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1928), 52-63.

[18] Ibid., 54. Coke claims that he is the first to coin such a term for the paper peepshow, although according to Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 10, the name 'peep-show' was already adopted around 1910 for this medium in Britain. The structure of the peepshow box will be analysed in detail below. This device is often referred to in scholarship simply as the 'peepshow.' Yet, as pointed out by John Barnes in *Precursors of the Cinema: Shadowgraphy, Panoramas, Dioramas and Peepshows Considered in Their Relation to the History of the Cinema, Catalogue of the Collection, Part 1* (St Ives: Barnes Museum of Cinematography, 1967), 53, the word 'peepshow' can also be a 'generative term to denote some kind of optical show viewed through a peephole.' Thus, in order to be clear about the device I refer to in my discussion, I adopt the more specific term 'peepshow box.'

[19] Richard Balzer, *Peepshows: A Visual History* (New York, N.Y.: Harry N. Abrams, 1998), 36; Basil Harley, *Optical Toys* (Princes Risborough: Shire, 1988), 14-19. Both refer to the paper peepshow simply as 'peepshow,' although sometimes Harley uses the term 'folding paper peepshow' too. Balzer's book remains one of the classical texts that analyses the peepshow box in detail.

the narrative that only tells a linear teleology of the technological progression that finally led to the so-called official birth of cinema in 1895.[20] Pre-cinematic devices—nineteenth-century optical toys such as the thaumatrope, the phenakistoscope, and the stereoscope, are no longer regarded as insignificant steps that paved the way for the invention of moving pictures. Instead, scholars have begun treating these devices as media that worth in-depth analysis in their own right.[21] The paper peepshow is also included in such research as an optical toy since an important, but not the only, aspect of its consumption concerns vision and ways of looking. Indeed, it appears that nineteenth-century producers also placed much weight on the visual element in the experience of using paper peepshows. Many described their works as 'perspective view,' 'expanding view,' 'telescopic view,' used the phrase 'a view of,' or alluded to the panorama when naming their products.[22] However, ironically, instead of being analysed as a medium in its own right in New Film History, the paper peepshow is very often discussed within the teleology of other optical devices and merely considered as their variant. On the one hand, scholars such as Olive Cook and Marina Warner continue regarding this medium as an alternative version of the peepshow box, naming it 'toy peepshow' or simply 'peepshow.'[23] This narrative may have contributed to the association of the paper peepshow with eroticism since sensual

[20] Jussi Parikka, *What is Media Archaeology?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), 9-10. For a more detailed discussion about the agenda of New Film History, see also Wanda Strauven, 'Media Archaeology: Where Film History, Media Art and New Media (Can) Meet,' in *Preserving and Exhibiting Media Art: Challenges and Perspectives*, eds. Julia Noordegraaf et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013), 62-63. It is worth noting that New Film History has inspired media archaeology, which is an important methodology used in this thesis. New Film History is one of the most important fields where media-archaeological research is conducted too. Media archaeology will be discussed later in this chapter. For more analyses on New Film History and media archaeology, see also Parikka, *What is Media Archaeology?*, 5; Thomas Elsaesser, 'The New Film History as Media Archaeology,' *Cinémas* 14, no. 2-3 (Spring 2004): 75-117.

[21] Parikka, *What is Media Archaeology?*, 9. Here 'pre-cinematic' is used as a chronological, not technological, indicator. For examples of scholarship on nineteenth-century optical toys in film studies, see for example Tom Gunning, 'Hand and Eye: Excavating a New Technology of the Image in the Victorian Era,' *Victorian Studies* 54, no. 3 (Spring 2012): 495-515; Wanda Strauven, 'The Observer's Dilemma: To Touch or Not to Touch,' in *Media Archaeology: Approaches, Applications and Implications*, eds. Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parikka (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, c2011), 148-163; Nicolas Dulac and André Gaudreault, 'Circularity and Repetition at the Heart of the Attraction: Optical Toys and the Emergence of a New Cultural Series,' in *The Cinema of Attractions Reloaded*, ed. Wanda Strauven (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, c2006), 227-244; Erkki Huhtamo, *Illusions in Motion: Media Archaeology of the Moving Panorama and Related Spectacles* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2013). Jonathan Crary's *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth-Century* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: The MIT Press, 1994), although situated in the field of art history, is no doubt also a classical study of nineteenth-century optical toys.

[22] See Appendix III for the titles in full. The significance of most of the formations in the titles mentioned here will be discussed in subsequent chapters in detail.

[23] Olive Cook, *Movement in Two Dimensions: A Study of the Animated and Projected Pictures which Preceded the Invention of Cinematography* (London: Hutchinson, 1963), 27; Marina Warner, 'Camera Ludica,' in *Eyes, Lies and Illusions: The Art of Deception*, ed. Laurent Mannoni (London: Hayward Gallery in association with Lund Humphries, 2004), 220.

views are often linked with the peepshow box.[24] On the other hand, in the detailed analysis of the German perspective toy theatre by researchers such as David Robinson and Frances Terpak, the paper peepshow is briefly mentioned as the light-weight version of the former and named as 'concertina peepshow' and 'miniature perspective theatre' respectively.[25] It seems that the rationale of these scholars is that since the paper peepshow is simply another version of either the peepshow box or the perspective toy theatre, both of which have been studied in detail, it hardly needs any extra attention.[26]

While scholars are right in pointing out the formal similarities between the paper peepshow and the other two media, their negligence of the differences between them is problematic. There are two types of peepshow boxes. The first usually consists of a wooden box placed horizontally, with a peep-hole (or more) fitted with a lens located at the front. The peep-view is an engraving placed at the back of the box and may have prosceniums in front of it as a frame.[27] The box has an opening on the top to allow for natural light, and a candle can be placed at the back of the box to create a different light effect. Sometimes on the side of the box, a series of strings are attached to the prints, and they can be pulled or released to change the view on the inside (Fig. 0.5).[28] The second type is a box that stands vertically and also has the opening on the top for light. This model uses a combination of a viewing lens in the front and a mirror placed at a forty-five-degree angle on the inside. The same type of engraving is used, but it is placed at the base of the box. The image content is reflected in the mirror, visible through the lens (Fig. 0.6).[29]

The prints used in peepshow boxes are not ordinary engravings, but ones produced with 'a strong central perspective with a single vanishing point and a variety

[24] Although such impression of the peepshow box is not always based on actual evidence. The opacity of the wooden box, which has resulted in difficulties of determining what was in the box, is a factor that has contributed to the formation of this perception. See Erkki Huhtamo, 'The Pleasures of the Peephole: An Archaeological Exploration of Peep Media,' in *Book of Imaginary Media: Excavating the Dream of the Ultimate Communication Medium*, ed. Eric Kluitenberg (Rotterdam: NAI, 2006), 102-103 for a detailed analysis. Erotic images did, however, dominated the content of one of the variants of the peepshow box, the mutoscope, which appeared in 1897.

[25] David Robinson in 'Augsburg Peepshows,' *Print Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (June 1988): 191; Francs Terpak, 'Objects and Contexts,' in *Devices of Wonder: From the World in a Box to Images on a Screen*, ed. Barbara Maria Stafford (Los Angeles, Calif.: Getty Research Institute, c2001), 341.

[26] While the paper peepshow is very briefly discussed in Balzer's *Peepshows*, in some scholarship that focuses on a wide range of peeping devices, such as the essay by Huhtamo, 'The Pleasures of the Peephole,' 75-155, it is not even mentioned—perhaps for the reason mentioned here.

[27] Balzer, *Peepshows*, 28.

[28] Ibid., 28. Although the peepshow box in the photo is from the nineteenth century, its structure is the same as that of an eighteenth-century peepshow box.

[29] Ibid., 31.

of exaggerated depth cues such as foreshortening, size constancy, and chromostereopsis (the visual illusion of depth created by certain bright colour juxtapositions.)'[30] Although theoretically speaking, any two-dimensional image could be used for a peepshow box, it would be difficult to achieve the same level of effectiveness of spatial illusion.[31] The perspective effect works in tandem with the peep-hole, whose lens enlarges the view and enhances the three-dimensional quality.[32] The peep-hole is usually rather large and would be designed to accommodate both eyes.[33]

Clearly, what the paper peepshow and the peepshow box share is only the aperture in their structures. Considering the former as merely the variant of the latter is thus problematic. Whereas in the case of the peepshow box, the space in which viewer looks into is completely closed and cannot be touched, the paper peepshow structure is open on two sides, and touching the panels and bellows constitutes an essential part of the experience of using it. The sturdiness of the wooden box also forms a significant contrast with the fragile materiality of the paper peepshow. In addition, whereas the illusion of depth in the peepshow box is created through the mechanism of chromostereopsis, on the unified surface of a print, in the paper peepshow, three-dimensionality is realized by the layering of panels. In other words, the impression of depth is conjured up by piecing together fragmented views on various surfaces, known not only to the eye but also through touch. Lastly, the binocular vision involved in the use of the peepshow box and the monocular mode of looking implied in the design of the paper peepshow is also one significant difference that should not be overlooked.

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[30] Kristina Kleutghen, 'Peepboxes, Society, and Visuality in Early Modern China,' *Art History* 38, no. 4 (September 2015): 763. For a detailed explanation of the techniques used in producing peepshow prints, see Rod Bantjes, 'Hybrid Projection, Machinic Exhibition and the Eighteenth-Century Critique of Vision,' *Art History 37*, no. 5 (November 2014): 912-939.

[31] C. J. Kaldenbach, 'Perspective Views,' *Print Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (June 1985): 87. In this article, Kaldenbach talks about perspective prints used for the zograscope, which is an eighteenth-century device. It consists of a magnifying lens and a mirror behind it, both fixed on a wooden frame and attached to a pole-like table stand—essentially a skeleton version of the second type of the peepshow box. In David Robinson, 'Perspective Views and Their Public,' *Print Quarterly* 6, no. 1 (March 1989): 75, Robinson confirms that such prints were also sold to peepshow men to be used in peepshow boxes.

[32] Catherine L. Whalen, 'From the Collection: The Pickman Family "Vues d'Opqitues,"' *Winterthur Portfolio* 33, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 78.

[33] Huhtamo, 'The Pleasures of the Peephole,' 93; Bantjes, 'Hybrid Projection,' 915. However, neither gives concrete evidence about the size of the peephole. Nonetheless, all of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century visual depictions of the peepshow box that I have seen so far portray peep-holes big enough for both eyes. The surviving examples of the peepshow box (mostly for home use) are also equipped with rather large peep-holes.

In comparison, the perspective toy theatre has a much closer affinity with the paper peepshow. The former has essentially the same external structure as the peepshow box and also has two types, one standing and one lying down.[34] The main difference comes from the inside. In the perspective toy theatre, a set of paper cut-outs are arranged by users in the slots along the length of the box to create the perspective view (Fig. 0.7). The cut-outs come in three different sizes, the largest one measuring 15.6 x 20.8 cm, the middle one 9.2 x 14.3 cm, and the smallest type 7.3 x 9.0 cm.[35] All the surviving works identified so far were produced by Martin Engelbrecht, the Augsburg publisher, in the early- to mid-eighteenth century.[36] Although Engelbrecht based his firm in Germany, it appears that his works were very popular and he marketed them all over Europe, printing the titles in German, French, Italian, Latin or English.[37] After his son-in-law took over the firm in 1756, no further works of this kind appeared on the market.[38]

The peep-hole and the layered panels used to create the impression of three-dimensionality are the core mechanism in both the perspective toy theatre and the paper peepshow.[39] These similarities can confirm the argument of Robinson and Terpak that the paper peepshow was inspired by and to a certain degree, modelled on the perspective toy theatre. However, it does not mean that the former is simply a light-weight version of the latter and thus needs no further analysis. The semi-open structure of the paper peepshow, its fixed cut-out panels, as well as the nineteenth-century socio-cultural environment in which it was consumed, are all aspects that result in very different connotation for the consumption of this medium. These differences make a detailed investigation, which does not merely extend the current scholarship of the perspective toy theatre, necessary.

In children's literature, while the paper peepshow is also regarded as the descendent of the peepshow box or the perspective toy theatre, the discussion mainly

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[34] Füsslin et al., *Der Guckkasten*, 46-48. However, in Thomas Ganz, *Die Welt im Kasten: Von Der Camera Obscura zur Audiovision* (Zürich: Neue Zürich Zeitung, c1994), 54, the author also mentions that the panels can sometimes be arranged in a miniature theatre stage, instead of in a closed box.
[35] Füsslin et al., *Der Guckkasten*, 49.
[36] Ibid., 48. For more detailed discussions of the production and distribution of the perspective toy theatre, see 46-61 in the same volume and also Daniel Crépin, 'Martin Engelbrecht und die Guckkastentheater im 18. Jahrhundert,' in *Arbeitskreis Bild Druck Papier Band 11: Tagunsband Ravenna 2006*, ed. Wolfgang Brückner, Konrad Vanja, Detleft Lorenz et al. (Münster: Waxmann, 2007) 155-70.
[37] Terpak, 'Objects and Contexts,' 336.
[38] Füsslin et al., *Der Guckkasten*, 48; Robinson, 'Augsburg Peepshows', 189.
[39] It is unclear, however, whether binocular or monocular vision is involved in the consumption of the perspective toy theatre. The relatively big size of the peep-hole in perspective toy theatres indicates binocular vision, but I have not yet identified any source confirming this.

focuses on its role as a prototype of pop-up books.[40] Although scholars from this field analyse pop-up books using different frameworks, considering them as children's playthings, in combination with the history of the cinema and other optical toys, or as books, their perception of the role played by the paper peepshow is the same. Categorizing pop-up books as children's toys, the collector Lesley Gordon is one of the first people to discuss the paper peepshow as an example of the pop-up *avant la lettre*, an opinion shared by Iona Opie and Peter Haining.[41] A similar argument is voiced by Eric Faden, who explores the overlap between optical toys and pop-up books and names the paper peepshow the '"peep show" book.'[42] Mara Sarlatto, who acknowledges the significance of the book format of pop-up literature, assigns the paper peepshow to the same position in the history of children's literature and terms it the 'tunnel book.' [43] Undeniably, the paper peepshow structure, or variants of it, became a common element of the pop-up since the 1850s and can still be found in children's books today. However, as will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five, this was the period when the paper peepshow was being repositioned as a medium. It is thus erroneous to assume that its connection with pop-up books had always been a part of its medial configuration, since 1825. Moreover, even after the mid-nineteenth century, the two media should not be merged into one discussion. In pop-up books, the panels are designed to be appreciated both laid flat and standing up, which

[40] Exceptions to this kind of literature include Hannah Field, *Playing with the Book: Victorian Movable Picture Books and the Child Reader* (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 2019), 96-97; Brian Alderson and Felix de Marze Oyens, *Be Merry and Wise: Origins of Children's Book Publishing in England, 1650-1850* (London: British Library, 2006), 133; Jacqueline Reid-Walsh, *Interactive Books: Playful Media Before Pop-Ups* (Abingdon: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018), 137. Although none of them consider the paper peepshow as a part of the history of pop-up books, they do not discuss this medium in-detail. Here I use the definition of the 'pop-up' by the ArchBook collective, which describes it as 'a three-dimensional paper construction found in books.' See 'Glossary,' ArchBook: Architectures of the Book, University of Saskatchewan Humanities and Fine Arts Digital Research Centre, accessed 5 July 2020, http://drc.usask.ca/projects/archbook/glossary.php.

[41] Lesley Gordon, *Peepshow into Paradise: A History of Children's Toys* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., 1953), 216-217; Iona Opie, *The Treasures of Childhood: Books, Toys and Games from the Opie Collection* (London: Pavilion Books Limited, 1989), 146; Peter Haining, *Movable Books: An Illustrated History* (London: New English Library, 1979), 22. The paper peepshow (named as 'telescopic peepshow') is also included in the exhibition catalogue: John B. Thomas, Paula D. Matthews, and Deborah S. Berman, *The Cottage of Content: Or, Toys, Games, and Amusements of Nineteenth Century England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Center for British Art, 1977), 10.

[42] Eric Faden, 'MOVABLES, MOVIES, MOBILITY: Nineteenth-Century Looking and Reading,' *Early Popular Visual Culture* 5, no. 1 (April 2007): 74. Another example that discusses the elements of optical entertainment in children's literature in the nineteenth century is John Plunkett, 'Moving Books/Moving Images: Optical Recreations and Children's Publishing 1800-1900,' *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, no. 5 (2007), accessed 25 December 2018, http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.463, although Plunkett only examines the peepshow box and not the paper peepshow.

[43] Mara Sarlatto, 'Paper Engineers and Mechanical Devices of Movable Books of the 19th and 20th Centuries,' *JLIS.it* 7, no. 1 (January 2016): 93-4.

generates different experience and significance.[44] In contrast, when the paper peepshow is not expanded, the view through the peep-hole does not result in a coherent image as the bellows between the panels disrupt the scene (Fig. 0.8). In addition, in making a connection between the paper peepshow and children's literature, scholars often assume that the target audience of the former in the nineteenth century were children. However, as already argued in some literature and will be further discussed in detail in Chapter One, this was not necessarily the case.[45]

Apart from these two fields that contribute to most of the existing literature on the paper peepshow, one less dominant approach is also worth mentioning. Perhaps because the majority of the surviving nineteenth-century British paper peepshows depict either the Thames Tunnel or the Great Exhibition of 1851, this medium has also been sometimes examined as a souvenir directly inspired by and/or exclusively made for these monuments.[46] Indeed, the term 'tunnel book' that is often used in North America today is a clear indication of the presumed connection between the Tunnel and the paper peepshow. However, the gradual opening of archives, especially the Gestetner Collection, demonstrates that this object was not first published to depict the Tunnel and that it was produced to represent a wide range of topics. Admittedly, in the literature that analyses the paper peepshow as a souvenir, its unique structure and consumption experience are often acknowledged. However, since the subject matter is confined to a small group, the resulting scholarship is also based on a very specific perspective that often cannot be applied to all paper peepshows.

The Scope of the Research

Building on the existing scholarship, this thesis seeks to provide an in-depth analysis of the paper peepshow as a medium and take it out of the disciplines in which

[44] See Field, *Playing with the Book*, 100-106 for a detailed discussion of the cut-outs in pop-up books when laid flat.

[45] Field, *Playing with the Book*, 96-97; Alderson and Oyens, *Be Merry and Wise*, 133; Reid-Walsh, *Interactive Books*, 137. They either argue that the paper peepshow was intended for adults (Alderson and Oyens, and Reid-Walsh) or that it was not 'expressly aimed at children,' although there are examples of children using it (Field). None of them, however, argue their case with much substantial evidence.

[46] See for example Verity Jane Hunt, 'Technologies of Wonder: Optical Devices, Perception and the Book, 1851-1895' (PhD diss., University of Reading, 2009), 121; Amy F. Ogata, 'Viewing Souvenirs: Peepshows and the International Expositions.' *Journal of Design History* 15, no. 2 (2002): 69-82; Veronica Della Dora, 'Putting the World into a Box: A Geography of Nineteenth-Century "Travelling Landscapes,"' *Geografiska Annaler, Series B, Human Geography* 89, no. 4 (2007): 294; Christina Cornfield, 'The Lesson in the Object: Reconstructing Early Visual Media in Paper,' *Early Popular Visual Culture* 18, no. 1, Special Issue: Object Lessons, Old and New: Experimental Media Archaeology in the Classroom (2020): 63-66. Hunt associates the origin of the paper peepshow with the Thames Tunnel, which is clearly erroneous since the first published British paper peepshow depicts Regent's Park.

it has been discussed so far. The term used in this thesis for this object requires some explanation first. Despite its modern association with erotic imageries, the word 'peepshow' is a fitting choice as it acknowledges the formal features of the paper peepshow and one of the key aspects involved in its consumption—the action of peering through the peep-hole. The word 'paper' highlights its texture, the importance of which will be explored in detail in this thesis. More importantly, 'paper' makes reference to the fact that the paper peepshow can also be considered as part of the nineteenth-century print culture. Practical concerns have also influenced my choice of terminology. With the publication of Ralph Hyde's catalogue of the V&A Gestetner Collection, the term 'paper peepshow' has become widely known. It thus seems more sensible to use the established phrase and address the common misconceptions associated with it, rather than coining an entirely different term.

By defining the scope of my research, I am able to sharpen the focus of the thesis. Only paper peepshows produced in Britain, France, and Germany in the nineteenth century have survived in enough numbers to make an in-depth examination possible. The circumstance in which the paper peepshow medium appeared and its subsequent destiny are similar in these three countries. Nevertheless, significant differences remain in social-cultural backgrounds, subject matter, and format, which make a study of nineteenth-century paper peepshows in Europe too broad a topic. Considering issues such as access to sources and my language skills, I choose Britain as my focus. More specifically, I situate my discussion in the context of England only since it is where the British paper peepshow first emerged, and where all known publishers and retailers of this medium were located. Moreover, only three commercial works (one of which produced by an English publisher) depict scenes that cannot be identified as regions in England, and quite some homemade paper peepshows portray an English scenery too.[47] All these factors indicate that this medium most likely had an established presence on the English market and was well received by consumers of this region. In contrast, similar evidence about other parts of Britain cannot be gained. It is thus valid to have paper peepshows in English society as the focus of my analysis. In this thesis, when works discussed are referred to as English paper peepshows, the phrase is used to describe British works produced in

[47] See Appendix III for details of the specific content of all British works. Here 'commercial works' include both published paper peepshows and the two handmade works by publishers.

England or with subject matters concerning this region, or both.[48] This choice of terminology aims to highlight the fact that the discussion here looks at the production, circulation, consumption, and evolution of paper peepshows in relation to the English visual culture and socio-cultural environment, even though not all locations of production of the examined works can be traced to England for certain. Taking the year 1825, when the first English paper peepshow was produced, as the start, the examination is restricted to a relatively short period, ending in 1851. Although some producers already started to innovate on the conventional paper peepshow format in the 1840s, the mid-1850s was the period when this became a clear trend. As a result, this medium was increasingly transformed into other media, having its meanings and functions altered. This thesis concentrates on the period before such a fundamental shift happened. Since the last major wave of the production of paper peepshows in their original structure occurred around 1851, this year appears to be an appropriate point to set the boundary of my examination. However, some works produced not long after 1851 will also be briefly discussed where relevant.[49]

As discussed above, paper peepshows would have been used by both the upper and middle classes. This thesis focuses the discussion on the latter as users of this medium since they played an instrumental role in shaping the visual culture of England in the period concerned in this study. It is, however, notoriously difficult to define the middle classes, and this thesis is not a suitable place for a detailed review of the still on-going scholarly debate on this topic. Nonetheless, aiming for accuracy and nuance in the analysis, my definition of the middle-class users of English paper peepshows in the second quarter of the nineteenth century will be given, with reference to the relevant literature.

As argued by the historian Simon Gunn, the middle classes represent more 'an amorphous space between the notables on the one side and the mass of manual workers on the other' than a clearly defined group.[50] In the period discussed in this thesis, the outline of this space is signalled by two criteria: firstly, the middle classes needed to work to earn their living, but the jobs can be extremely diverse and common

[48] See Appendix III for details of the place of production of the works discussed. In the passages below, unless otherwise specified, when I discuss paper peepshows, it should be assumed that I am talking about English works, although the word 'English' is not always used when referring to them.
[49] Appendix II shows clearly that after 1851, apart from a few Thames Tunnel paper peepshows, there was hardly any other work produced in the rest of the nineteenth century. The publication of paper peepshows of the Tunnel in the second half of the nineteenth century will be discussed in the Chapter Four.
[50] Simon Gunn, *History and Cultural Theory* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2006), 140.

only in not being manual; and secondly, the annual income of the middle classes would lie somewhere in the range of 50 to 1,500 pounds.[51] Clearly, this social group thus defined was highly stratified. Nonetheless, scholars have argued that despite the difference, those who belonged to the middle classes were united by a series of values and behaviours. While some consider these values to be defined mainly in moral and political terms in the first half of the nineteenth century, the historian Linda Young proposes that it was socio-cultural factors that formed the basis of the middle-class identity.[52]

Young's definition is particularly useful for the discussion here, which concerns itself more with the socio-economic and cultural, instead of political, significance of the paper peepshow and its consumption. According to her, members of the nineteenth-century middle classes all upheld the culture of gentility. Young defines this concept as a 'common pattern of values, behaviours and beliefs,' many of which followed aristocratic models but were nonetheless distinct, not derivative from them.[53] The middle-class gentility was about being respectable and polite and had at its core the idea of self-control, whether of the body or the self in society or the material world.[54] It could be manifested in a wide range of aspects, from the upright posture, the purchase of self-improvement handbooks, to the acquirement of furnishings or clothes of the correct taste. [55] Her observation can also be confirmed by contemporary observations, which highlight the almost obsessive attention the middle classes gave to their appearing respectable and controlled in their behaviours.[56] In this thesis, Young's conceptualization is adopted, and the English middle-class users of paper peepshows are considered as those who fit the aforementioned two broad criteria about work and income and unified by their practice of the culture of gentility at the same time. This definition means that for the purpose of analysing why the paper peepshow and its subject matters would be appealing to middle-class consumers, they can be considered as one group with no fundamental conflict between them since their conformity to the culture of gentility would play a significant role in shaping

[51] Linda Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia and Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 5; 54.
[52] See Gunn, *History and Cultural Theory*, 140-141 and Simon Gunn, 'Class, Identity and the Urban: The Middle Class in England, c.1790-1950,' *Urban History* 31, no. 1 (May 2004): 34, for examples that argue for the predominance of political or moral factors.
[53] Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, 5; 8.
[54] Ibid., 5; 15-16.
[55] Ibid., 8; 15-16.
[56] See for example James Grant, *The Great Metropolis*, vol. 1, 4th ed (London: Saunders & Otley, 1837), 280-283.

their perception of this medium and its content. However, a stricter income criterion in defining the middle classes is used. The paper peepshow is discussed in this thesis in a context of it being considered as an easily affordable item by its consumers. Given its average price of six shillings, it is unlikely that it would be within the easy reach of those earning only fifty pounds a year. Thus, the above-discussed bottom section of the middle classes will be excluded with reference to the observation made by a nineteenth-century commentator, which proposes that the economic benchmark for one's membership in the middle classes is the annual expenditure of more than two hundred-and-fifty or three hundred pounds.[57]

Research Questions, Methods, and Methodology

Placing the paper peepshow in film studies as an optical entertainment or children's literature as a book-like object—depending on the definition of the book—can certainly generate important insights. However, such an approach may also marginalize some of the key features of the experience of using this medium and its development, most of which are related to print culture. Thus, the investigation of the paper peepshow in this thesis stresses that while being a form of optical toy, it was also a type of printed matter on paper in the period discussed here. By highlighting this aspect, I situate my research in art history, or the more loosely defined field of visual culture. This positioning allows me to discuss nineteenth-century vision and ways of looking in England in a context that does not necessarily pertain issues examined in film studies but concerns art historical topics such as new forms and aesthetics of image-making, as well as their production and distribution. My research thus seeks to make an intervention in the branch of art history that has shown an increasing interest in English visual entertainments in the early- to mid-1800s, while it also engages critically with literature from many different disciplines.[58] At the same time, as I highlight that the paper peepshow belonged to nineteenth-century printed materials designed to be both looked at and manipulated, I also make my contribution to scholarship on the print culture of the same period that pays increasing amount of

[57] Ibid., 284.

[58] Apart from Crary's *Techniques of the Observer*, another important example of this kind of literature in art history is Ann Bermingham, 'Landscape-O-Rama: The Exhibition Landscape at Somerset House and the Rise of Popular Landscape Entertainments,' in *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House, 1780-1836*, ed. David H. Solkin (London: Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2001), 127-143. I will discuss relevant scholarship on the English visual culture during this period in more detail in Chapter One, Two, and Five.

attention to not only freestanding comic or satirical prints, but also various forms of printed matter on paper or ephemera and the interactions consumers had with them.[59]

This thesis investigates the following three main questions:

1). How did the English paper peepshow emerge as a new medium? By investigating the visual, cultural, and socio-economic environment in England in the 1820s, this thesis looks beyond the formal influences that the paper peepshow received and examines other factors that would have played a role in its emergence and shaping its medial characteristics. Importantly, the discussion stresses the need to approach this object not only as a medium for scholarly investigation but also an item of commercial values in the nineteenth century.

2). How did the English paper peepshow evolve in the second quarter of the nineteenth century? By using case studies to analyse works from different periods, which depict a diverse range of subject matters, this thesis makes clear that the evolution of the paper peepshow demonstrates that between 1825 and 1851, it was an object with a fluid position on the market. It kept changing its meanings as a medium and did not always serve one single purpose, which echoes the diversity of influences that impacted its emergence. The discussion also contextualizes the paper peepshow in the field of English visual culture. It thus highlights its intermedial relationship with other forms of entertainment that concern different ways of looking and investigates how its development was influenced by them.[60]

3). What are the main features experienced in the consumption of English paper peepshows? By examining both the visual and other sensory elements involved in using paper peepshows, this study aims to add dimensions to the discussion on nineteenth-century modes of vision, while bringing analysis of other bodily senses, especially the tactile, into the scene. Since this thesis stresses the importance of analysing sensory experiences other than the visual, it names those who interacted with paper peepshows as 'users' instead of 'viewers' to highlight this argument. This

[59] A noteworthy example of interaction with print, which relates closely to the paper peepshow, is scrap album-making. See for example Brian Maidment, 'Scraps and Sketches: Miscellaneity, Commodity Culture and Comic Prints, 1820-40,' *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, no. 5 (2007), accessed 8 June 2018, http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.462; Patrizia Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England: Ladies, Mothers and Flirts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 29-52. Chapter One discusses scrap album-making and other literature on new forms of printed matter on paper in more detail. For a recent discussion on interactivity with print, especially its varied forms, see The Multigraph Collective, *Interacting with Print: Elements of Reading in the Era of Print Saturation* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 2018).

[60] Although Lynda Nead's *The Haunted Gallery* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, c2007) deals with a different time period and focuses on more than one medium, its intermedial study of visual culture nonetheless provides inspiration for the method used in investigating this research question.

research question concerns itself less with any scientific or socio-political implications of the sensations that occurred in the consumption of paper peepshows. Instead, it focuses on how they might relate to the pleasure of using it and seeks to explain what made this experience 'amusing, interesting, and curious,' as the title of this thesis suggests.

Being interdisciplinary at its core, this thesis draws some of its major methodologies from fields outside of art history. Material culture provides essential tools for my analysis. Of particular relevance is the anthropologist Tim Ingold's emphasis on the importance of studying the material of objects.[61] In the discussion below, it is stressed how the medium of paper can have different implications in the consumption of paper peepshows depicting various themes. To investigate the significance of the material, I will often refer to my personal experience of interacting with works when I researched in archives, catalogued the V&A Gestetner Collection, and organized a workshop of making paper peepshows. This approach allows me to discuss issues such as how might the paper material have felt in the hands of nineteenth-century users. Moreover, it also helps address the problem that current scholarship on optical toys is often either 'technologically determinist or overly theoretical.'[62]

By advocating the benefits that can be gained by drawing from my own experience, I also bring in the notion of the embodied knowledge. This is a concept often used by scholars of material culture and highlights the bodily experience of researchers in the production of knowledge.[63] While the structure of optical toys can be indicative of how they could have been used, the knowledge gained from handling them is promising in revealing new directions in analysing these objects in the context of nineteenth-century visual culture. With the paper peepshow, the significance of practical experience is even more important, as apart from the two images mentioned above, there is no contemporary description of its consumption. However, I do not follow the concept of the embodied knowledge fully in that I do not intend to discuss my findings as purely subjective and dependent on the unique and specific features of my body.[64] Instead, it is based on the combination of my personal experience,

[61] Tim Ingold, *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description* (Abingdon; New York, N.Y.: Routledge, c2011), 88-129.
[62] Meredith A. Bak, 'The Ludic Archive: The Work of Playing with Optical Toys,' *The Moving Image* 16, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 2.
[63] Laura L. Ellingson, 'Embodied Knowledge,' in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, vol. 1, ed. Lisa M. Given (Los Angeles, Cali.; London: SAGE 2008), 244-245.
[64] See ibid., 245 for more discussion on this aspect.

objective observation, and an analysis of the structure of the paper peepshow, that conclusions about features of its consumption can be made, which can apply to not just myself, but also nineteenth-century users.

Media archaeology is equally important as it provides some principal frameworks through which my study is conceptualized. A notion extremely fluid in its meaning, not only does media archaeology have various definitions, but it also develops very disparate methodologies within the branches where it is practised.[65] Without engaging with the debate about different interpretations and definitions of this concept, I bring into my thesis what scholars do agree on: the key approaches and themes that repeatedly appear in media archaeological study. Firstly, the paper peepshow is an under-researched medium that enjoyed moderate popularity for a few decades in the nineteenth century. It thus exemplifies itself as a medium to be studied in media archaeology, which is discontent with the '"canonised" narratives of media culture and history,' and is interested in 'the suppressed, neglected and forgotten media.'[66] The idea of the alternative histor(ies) is also linked with the critique of a linear teleology of the development of media. The concept of genealogy developed by Michel Foucault, one of the key thinkers from whom media archaeology draws inspiration, stresses not a family tree but 'multiple origins and contingencies.'[67] Bringing in this theory can thus highlight my intention of taking the paper peepshow out of the teleology of other media. At the same time, this framework of genealogy also proves particularly helpful for the discussion in Chapter One, which investigates the multiple origins of this object.

Secondly, the idea of how an archaeological approach to the past of media can look 'at media phenomena in their material-technical manifestation as fragments of physical and imaginary worlds no longer available' is valuable, as it informs the purpose of my research.[68] By analysing English paper peepshows produced between 1825 and 1851, I do not wish to just produce a local history of a somewhat obscure medium. Instead, I aim to situate my examination of it within the scene of visual

[65] See for example Erkki Huhtamo and Jussi Parikka, 'Introduction: An Archaeology of Media Archaeology,' in *Media Archaeology* (in note 21), 1-21; Wanda, 'Media Archaeology,' 59-80; Thomas Elsaesser, 'Media Archaeology as Symptom,' *New Review of Film and Television Studies* 14, no. 2 (2016): 181-215 for debates about the definition of media archaeology and its scope of application.
[66] Huhtamo and Parikka, 'Introduction,' 3. The paper peepshow has, however, been revived in the twentieth century and remains an active medium today. For more details on its development after the nineteenth century, see Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 62-65.
[67] Wanda, 'Media Archaeology,' 69. In this respect, Crary's *Techniques of the Observer* can be considered as a work of the spirit of media archaeology *avant la lettre*. See Elsaesser, 'Media Archaeology as Symptom,' 182 for an assessment of it in relation to media archaeology.
[68] Elsaesser, 'Media Archaeology as Symptom,' 183.

entertainments contemporary to it. Through this way, this object can be used as a tool to make an intervention in the scholarship on nineteenth-century English visual culture by exploring aspects of it from a different perspective.

This aim is related to the third aspect of the connection between my research and media archaeology, which is the intermedial approach used in this study. As an umbrella-term, intermediality describes 'those configurations which have to do with a crossing of borders between media.'[69] Within this idea are the extremely diverse narrow conceptualizations used in the research of different topics in disciplines with varied objectives.[70] In this thesis, two subcategories that belong to the broad concept of intermediality are used. While they are not suitable for all the interactions between the media discussed in my study, they are nonetheless crucial for conceptualizing some key issues examined. The first is the theory of remediation proposed by Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin. Although 'not overtly promoted as a media-archaeological concept,' the principle of remediation has often been 'taken for granted in . . . media historical research [since the early 2000s].'[71] Bolter and Grusin stress that ' [a] medium . . . can never operate in isolation, because it must enter into relationships of respect and rivalry with other media.'[72] Remediation, which is the 'representation of one medium in another', is the key concept used to explain the interaction between media, even the defining feature of a medium.[73] As this subcategory of intermediality focuses on the relationship between older and newer media, it is particularly useful for the discussion of the paper peepshow that adopts a genealogical point of view. These sections include those that analyse the position of this object in relation to other media, either as a newly emergent medium or one on the road to becoming outmoded.

Useful as this concept is, remediation has sustained some critiques, two of which are particularly relevant here. On the one hand, since in discussing the relationship between media from different periods, Bolter and Grusin focus on how media refashion and improve upon each other, it has been pointed out that this method

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[69] Irina O. Rajewsky, 'Intermediality, Intertextuality, and Remediation: A Literary Perspective on Intermediality,' *Intermédialités / Intermediality*, no. 6 (Autumn 2006): 46.
[70] See ibid., 46-50, for a summary of this situation, and some fundamental distinctions between these frameworks, which all bear the name of intermediality.
[71] Wanda, 'Media Archaeology,' 69.
[72] Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 2001), 65.
[73] Ibid., 45; 66. In Jay David Bolter, 'Transference and Transparency: Digital Technology and the Remediation of Cinema,' *Intermédialités / Intermediality*, no. 6 (Autumn 2006), 14, he provides a more precise definition of remediation, which is realized through one medium 'appropriating and refashioning the representational practices' of other media.

can imply historical linearity.[74] On the other hand, the articulation of the process of remediation also risks an analysis that fetishizes media and ignores that to understand the relationship between media, one also needs to consider socio-cultural and political factors.[75] This thesis reflects on these critiques. Although the theory of remediation is used to examine how, in some aspects, the paper peepshow can be considered as a more appealing means of representation than others, this object is not placed in a linear teleology as the predecessor or improved version of other media. Instead, these aspects are treated as but one manifestation of the various intermedial relationships this object had with different forms of nineteenth-century visual culture. At the same time, this thesis also highlights that the paper peepshow was a commercial product and analyses its evolution by looking not only at its medium specificities but also the influence from both its producers and consumers.

The second subcategory of intermediality used in this thesis, which is the notion of intermedial references, belongs to a type of conceptualization that focuses not on the historical development of media, but their specific characteristics. This concept describes one medium evoking or imitating other media by using only its own medium-specific means (examples include musicalisation of literature and *ekphrasis*).[76] This is helpful for analyses where an investigation of the intermediality feature of the paper peepshow does not concern its genealogy, but how its unique features link it with other media.

Chapter Outline

This thesis is organized into five chapters, followed by a conclusion. **Chapter One** examines the origins of the English paper peepshow and argues that the development of visual and optical entertainments, print culture, as well as the force of consumer culture constituted the main factors that led to its emergence. This genealogy also affected the position of the paper peepshow on the market in the early to middle phases of its evolution, which was the combination of being an optical toy and an innovative printed material, as well as a type of fancy article—an object with

[74] See for example, Wanda, 'Media Archaeology,' 69. In *Remediation*, 55, Bolter and Grusin specifically point out that remediation is not about a historical progression of media, and that old media can also remediate new media. However, their argument sometimes fails to take this notion into consideration.

[75] Michelle Henning, 'New Lamps for Old Oil: Photography, Obsolescence and Social Change,' in *Residual Media*, ed. Charles R. Acland (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 49-50. Although in *Remediation*, 78, Bolter and Grusin comments on this issue in their formulation of arguments and they do talk elsewhere in the book about the socio-political significance of remediation, the problem that Henning points out remains largely visible in their book.

[76] Rajewsky, 'Intermediality,' 51-52.

little utilitarian value but important in confirming the status of its middle-class owners. The multiple dimensions of the role of the paper peepshow are also reflected in the analysis of its producers and retailers. The brief investigation of homemade works further explores the connection between this medium and print culture, and the examination of its users and key features of its consumption provides the parameters for discussions in the rest of the thesis.

The four other chapters are case studies of paper peepshows depicting different subject matters. These works function as tools for analysing the various aspects of the consumption of this medium, its relationship with other media, and its evolution. The first two case studies concentrate on the early to middle stages of the development of the paper peepshow, from 1825 to the early 1840s. **Chapter Two** analyses works portraying theatrical performances and their audience. Although there are only a very small number of surviving paper peepshows, an in-depth examination of this topic is nonetheless important as it enables an investigation of the intermedial relationship between the paper peepshow and theatre. Apart from discussing the general interaction between these two media, this chapter also looks at how this relationship is further complicated in works that represent the drama world. **Chapter Three** focuses on seven works depicting watering resorts in England. The analysis in this section functions to further examine the role of the paper peepshow as a fancy article and offers the opportunity to investigate one of the ways in which this medium remediates conventional two-dimensional prints.

The late phase of the evolution of the paper peepshow, from the early 1840s to the beginning of the 1850s, is addressed in the other two case studies. **Chapter Four** concentrates on the topic of the Thames Tunnel, which appears in more than fifty per cent of English paper peepshows produced between 1825 and 1851. Analysing works about this engineering wonder in two phases, before and after its completion, this part of the thesis argues that they served different functions. Paper peepshows produced before the Tunnel was finished in March 1843 can be regarded as a means to help the middle classes interpret and imagine this project, which also embodied their concerns about technological advancement. In contrast, works published afterwards were presented as a kind of commemorative item. The increasingly closer connection between the paper peepshow and the Tunnel after March 1843 also marked the first step of the fundamental changes undergone by the former as a medium starting from the 1840s. The analysis of this evolution is continued in **Chapter Five** about eight works depicting royal events. These paper

peepshows are discussed as an example that demonstrates the process through which a new subject matter was 'discovered' and developed by publishers in their attempts to maintain the commercial values of this medium. This chapter also examines other transformations that this medium underwent during the late 1840s and early 1850s.

Although works about the Great Exhibition of 1851 have survived in great numbers (seven unique titles with many copies) and are important for understanding the paper peepshow, they will not be investigated in detail in this thesis. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, their production was likely to be motivated by the same factors that led to the publication of Tunnel paper peepshows after March 1843, so that an analysis of these works will generate repetitive conclusions. Moreover, there is already insightful scholarship that examines the representation of the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park or its afterlife at Sydenham in the paper peepshow and other related devices with a similar structure.[77] Thus, two works portraying royal events from the same period are discussed in detail instead in Chapter Five because they offer an excellent opportunity to investigate a rather untypical strategy used by publishers to reposition the paper peepshow in response to challenges of new visual media in the early 1850s.

[77] Ogata, 'Viewing Souvenirs,' 69-82; Verity Hunt, '"A Present from the Crystal Palace": Souvenirs of Sydenham, Miniature Views and Material Memory,' in *After 1851: The Material and Visual Cultures of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham*, eds. Kate Nichols and Sarah Victoria Turner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 24-46.

Chapter One

The Genealogy of the English Paper Peepshow, Its Production, Circulation and Consumption

On my visit to the Opie Collection of Children's Literature at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, I came across a homemade paper peepshow titled *The Burlington Arcade as It Was in 1818. . .* (hereafter *The Burlington Arcade*).[1] Its front-face (Fig. 1.1) is a reprint of Thomas Hosmer Shepherd's illustration in James Elmes's *Metropolitan Improvements: Or London in the Nineteenth Century* published in 1827.[2] Shepherd's print depicts the entrance to the Burlington Arcade with its signature colonnades, in front of which affluent shoppers promenade. One of the posters on the left announces the display of John Martin's painting *The Fall of Nineveh*. Hidden behind the two peep-holes are four cut-out panels and a back-scene. While the first three panels consist of print clippings from unidentifiable sources, the last one recycles the same illustration used in the front-face, as does the back-scene.

This work constitutes the perfect emblem for the discussion of the genealogy of the English paper peepshow in the first half of this chapter. The content and structure of *The Burlington Arcade* deal with all the core issues mentioned in the examination below, including the development of early nineteenth-century visual and optical entertainments, the expansion of print culture, and the force of consumer culture. The reference in Shepherd's image to the work of John Martin, the artist famous for his vast and often sublime paintings, hints at the burgeoning scene of visual and optical recreations in the early 1800s in England, to which the paper peepshow belonged. The appropriation of Shepherd's illustration exemplifies an innovative way of interacting with printed matter on paper and serves as a reminder of the fact that the paper peepshow was also a part of print culture. Moreover, the focus of the work, the Burlington Arcade, alludes to the growing force of consumer culture in the first few decades of the 1800s. A new type of shopping venue built to cater to the

[1] *The Burlington Arcade as It Was in 1818…*, Anonymous, 1868, E 68, Opie Collection of Children's Literature, Bodleian Library, Oxford University Libraries, Oxford. The dating of this work is rather confusing. Its online catalogue record notes that the manuscript on the first panel writes 'Times 18 March 68 p7,' but I was not able to locate this line when I examined this work in the archive. Sarah Wheale, the Head of Rare Books of Weston Library, Bodleian Libraries, suggests that the manuscript might refer to the fact that the paper peepshow was first mentioned in the 18 March 1868 issue of *The Times*, which is actually not true. Catalogue record: http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=oxfaleph016759579&context=L&vid=SOLO&lang=en_US.

[2] James Elmes, *Metropolitan Improvements; Or London in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Jones & Co., 1827), 283.

development of capitalism consumption, arcades first appeared in late eighteenth-century Paris and were transplanted to London at the beginning of the nineteenth century, where it maintained its original purpose of showcasing luxuries goods and accommodating the needs of upper- and middle-class consumers to display themselves.[3] As detailed below, the same consumer culture, which brought new shopping forms and placed emphasis on the association between status and commodities, also functioned as a vital force involved in the emergence of the paper peepshow.[4]

After locating this medium in different nineteenth-century socio-cultural phenomena in England through examining its genealogy, I move on to investigate the different stages it went through as a commodity, including its production and circulation. Lastly, I survey the major features of the experience of consuming it. The discussion in this chapter seeks to identify key issues surrounding the analysis of the paper peepshow, which form the basic parameters for subsequent case study chapters.

The Culture of Looking in Early Nineteenth-Century England

The discussion of the emergence of the paper peepshow benefits from Michel Foucault's concept of genealogy. Foucault take inspiration from Nietzsche and concerns himself less with looking for the pure origin and is more interested in multiple contingencies.[5] His approach emphasizes the multitude of factors that could influence the birth of an object or a phenomenon. It is particularly relevant to the emergence of the paper peepshow, which involved various entangled contributing

[3] Margaret MacKeith, *The History and Conservation of Shopping Arcades* (London: Mansell, 1986), 7. For details on the history and architecture of London arcades, see 1-28 and 65-140 in the same volume and Johann Friedrich Geist, *Arcades: The History of a Building Type* (Cambridge, M.A.; London: MIT Press, 1983), 310-349.

[4] This thesis takes the classical definition of the commodity from Karl Marx's *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, vol. 1, intro. Ernest Mandel, trans. Ben Fowkes (Harmondsworth: Penguin; London: New Left Review, 1976). In *Capital*, 125, Marx describes a commodity as 'an external object, a thing which is indented for exchange and through its qualities satisfies human needs of whatever kind.' He then emphasizes commodities as products of human labour, and identifies the two key properties of commodities, use value—the 'usefulness of a thing,' and exchange value—the 'quantitative relation, the proportion, in which use-values of one kind exchange for use-values.' (126). Consequently, the commodity's exchange value 'appears to be something accidental and purely relative' (126). This definition is subsequently complicated by a wealth of scholarship, including Arjun Appadurai's influential Thing Theory. It is first proposed in Arjun Appadurai, Introduction *to The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), where he approaches commodities by considering the 'situation in the social life of any "things"' (13). Important as these theories are, their challenges and moderation of the Marxist definitions of the commodity do not affect the relevant arguments in this thesis and are therefore not discussed here.

[5] Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interview*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977), 77.

influences. My examination of the birth of this medium hence seeks to map out a genealogy that connects the different cultural phenomena in early nineteenth-century England that contributed to its birth. The construction of this genealogy also takes its cue from Walter Benjamin. In the process of collecting evidence for his unfinished *Arcades Project*, Benjamin refused to organize the immense amount of notes into 'a single symbol deemed characteristic of the era.'[6] Similarly, the multiple links the paper peepshow had with other cultural phenomena should not be compressed into a neat narrative emblematic of early nineteenth-century England, which had a complex media landscape that cannot be reduced to a single expression in the first place. Instead, the genealogy of this medium discussed below stresses its multiplicity and variety of meanings.

The analysis in the Introduction has already pointed out that the Engelbrecht perspective toy theatre was likely the formal inspiration for the paper peepshow. However, it needs to be noted that the method of placing panels in a sequence to create three-dimensionality has a much longer history. In the catalogue to the V&A Gestetner Collection, Ralph Hyde has compiled an extensive list of media that might have exerted influence on the emergence of the paper peepshow. He mentions many possible candidates, including: the Baroque theatre with its stage design that incorporated proscenium arches and perspective scenes; the seventeenth-century sensational mountain scenery, *Sacri Monti*, in Piedmont and Lombardy in northern Italy; the eighteenth-century optical walks in pleasure gardens; the nineteenth-century table-top tableaux; and the English toy theatre.[7] However, these media all have very different functions and played various roles as entertainments in the periods from which they emerged, and appear to have little direct connection with the paper peepshow. Rather, it is more accurate to say that what this list reveals is the fact that the mechanism used to create three-dimensionality in the paper peepshow is shared not only by the perspective toy theatre but many other media. As the oldest medium

[6] Huhtamo and Parikka, 'Introduction,' 6.

[7] Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 12-20. Hyde also mentions the peepshow box, the zograscope, and the cosmorama as the possible sources of inspiration. These media are included probably because they also have a structure similar to the peep-hole in the paper peepshow. The cosmorama is in essence an elaborate version of the eighteenth-century peepshow box. It was situated in a finely decorated and dimly lit room, and viewers peeped through a series of windows made of convex lens to look at spectacular imageries. For more details, see Ralph Hyde, *Panoramania!: The Art and Entertainment of the 'All-Embracing' View* (London: Trefoil in association with Barbican Art Gallery, 1988), 95. It needs to be noted though that Hyde's summary of influences on the paper peepshow takes an European perspective. He also examines what could have led to the emergence of Austrian, French or German works and not only the English ones. Nonetheless, most, if not all, of the media or visual phenomena he mentions would have been known in England.

in the list that adopts this method, theatre is exceptional, as its connection with the paper peepshow goes beyond just formal similarities. Because the significance of this relationship can only be sufficiently discussed with reference to works that depict theatrical performances, it will not be analysed in detail here, but in the next chapter.

Interestingly, it appears that the idea of reworking the structure of the perspective toy theatre into the paper peepshow was first initiated by amateur makers, instead of commercial producers. Before the appearance of *The Areaorama, a View in the Regent's Park* (hereafter *A View in the Regent's Park*), the first known published English work, there was at least already one English homemade paper peepshow.[8] According to the inscription on the reverse of its back-board, this work, titled *The Wye. Newland House* and consists of watercolour cut-out panels, was made in 1819.[9] In its current state, this work does not have a front-face in the conventional sense, and the first panel has an irregularly shaped opening (Fig. 1.2). This opening could be intended as a peep-hole—after all, *A View in the Regent's Park* does not have a circular peep-hole either. However, since the work is in a somewhat worn state, and there are noticeable marks of tear around the edges of the first panel where the bellows are attached, it is also possible that the front-face with a circular peep-hole fell off at some point. In any case, this work has most of the essential elements of a paper peepshow and can be regarded as at least a prototype of this medium. Another possible English homemade example is an untitled work made up of print clippings (Fig. 1.3).[10] Although its paper bears the watermark of 1824 and the figures wear Regency-style costumes, there is no defining evidence that can indicate that it was indeed produced before *A View in the Regent's Park*.[11]

The formal connections between the paper peepshow and the perspective toy theatre can explain the physical appearance of the former. Yet why did people start developing the idea of appropriating the structure of the latter more than fifty years after it was no longer produced? In the passages below, I propose several socio-cultural and economic factors that might have created the suitable environment that

[8] *The Areaorama, a View in the Regent's Park*, S. & J. Fuller, 1825.
[9] *The Wye. Newland House*, made by F. J. Durbin, watercolour, 1819, Eng 18 3012, Cotsen Children's Library, Princeton University Library, Princeton, N.J.
[10] [*Peep-show Assembled from Figures Cut-out of Engraved Book Illustrations*], Anonymous, hand-coloured engraving and watercolour, c1824, Pams / Manuscripts / Box 3 26205, Cotsen Children's Library, Princeton University Library, Princeton, N.J.
[11] A homemade paper peepshow, [*A Formal Ball*], Anonymous, c1815, GV1199. F58, Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Conn., is also a work that is dated before 1825. Yet validity of the dating of this work is much more questionable, as the discussion below makes clear. Thus, the analysis here does not include [*A Formal Ball*] as an example of homemade works appearing before the first published English paper peepshow.

encouraged the reworking of the perspective toy theatre, although some of the motivations might have a more significant impact on commercial producers than amateur makers. As an optical toy, the paper peepshow no doubt belonged to the culture that started to emerge around the beginning of the nineteenth century, a culture that was 'avidly scopic—a culture of *looking*.'[12] One of its major manifestations is found in the seemingly unlimited range of visual and optical entertainments, from public art galleries, wax figures, to new theatre stage design and museums.[13] Particularly relevant to the emergence of the paper peepshow was a group of media that appropriated the aesthetic of landscape or topographical art by representing sceneries of nature and city in novel ways—what the art historian Ann Bermingham refers to as 'landscape entertainments.'[14] Bermingham argues that under the influence of the institution of the picturesque tours, which already became well-established by the end of the eighteenth century, tourists' interaction with unfamiliar places grew to be an increasingly visual one, giving rise to the interest in turning travel into a virtual experience that could be realized by simply consuming visual representations of these places.[15] This new trend was exploited by novel forms of landscape entertainments on the market, and the panorama and the diorama[16] constituted some of the most famous examples.[17]

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[12] Isobel Armstrong, 'Transparency: Towards a Poetics of Glass in the Nineteenth Century,' in *Cultural Babbage: Technology, Time and Invention*, eds. Francis Spufford and Jenny Uglow (London: Faber and Faber, 1996), 125, emphasis original.

[13] Richard Altick's seminal work *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1978) gives a detailed account of the various visual and optical entertainments available in this period.

[14] Bermingham, 'Landscape-O-Rama,' 128. In this thesis, I adopt a narrow definition of landscape art in order to distinguish it from topographical art. Using the explanation discussed by Felicity Myrone in 'Looking at Topographical Images,' accessed 9 June 2020, https://www.bl.uk/picturing-places/articles/looking-at-topographical-images, I categorize images that 'usually involv[e] some aspiration towards primarily aesthetic value' as landscape art, and the 'supposedly mundane' visual representations that focus on 'an actual, identified location' as topographical images. 'Landscape' is used in this thesis to refer to the scenes depicted, not the artistic genre.

[15] Bermingham, 'Landscape-O-Rama,' 131.

[16] Very misleadingly, since its invention, the word 'diorama' has been used to refer to different visual entertainments. Today it is most commonly associated with the miniature diorama, which has a very similar structure to the paper peepshow, as the former also uses multiple layers of cut-outs to create depth. Yet the diorama discussed here refers to the nineteenth-century public entertainment, which in essence consists of huge, specially executed paintings that creates three-dimensional illusion with the help of elaborate lighting. For more details, see R. Derek Wood, 'The Diorama in Great Britain in the 1820s,' *History of Photography* 17, no. 3 (1993): 284.

[17] Bermingham, 'Landscape-O-Rama,' 129-134. The rest of the article provides an excellent discussion of the interaction between these entertainments and fine arts. See also Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, c2000), especially 105-126, for a more detailed discussion on the commercial appropriation of the picturesque in various aspects and not just by landscape entertainments. Bermingham also analyses here the wider socio-political implications related to this commercialization. Of course, landscape and townscape are not the only subject matters represented in the panorama, which was also used to depict other topics such as military scenes.

Domestic counterparts to such public visual entertainments also flourished.[18] The paper panorama and the portable diorama, for example, soon appeared on the market. Visual recreations explicitly designed for the home that capitalizes on different landscape aesthetics, such as the myriorama and transparencies, also emerged or received more attention.[19] The success of landscape entertainments of the early nineteenth century and the growing popularity of domestic optical recreations could have been partly responsible for inspiring the emergence of the paper peepshow. The first English work, *A View in the Regent's Park*, is a topographical representation of a subject matter that received much attention around 1825—Regent's Park under the development of Nash, which was part of the metropolitan improvement plan.[20] The next work by the same publisher, *The Areaorama, a View on the Thames* (hereafter *A View on the Thames*), is also a topographical representation.[21] This choice of topic can indicate that the paper peepshow was perhaps initially designed as a landscape entertainment. However, this did not remain its exclusive function, as its potential for portraying other themes was soon explored (as detailed in Chapter Three, topography continued to be an important theme for works produced in the 1820s and 1830s).[22] Interestingly, the idea of using the paper peepshow as a new medium to

[18] The discussion here about domestic landscape entertainments does not include the zograscope. In Erin C. Blake, 'Zograscopes, Perspective Prints, and the Mapping of Polite Space in Mid-Eighteenth-Century England' (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2000), she argues that although the zograscope also enabled a different way of viewing places, it was more concerned with the mapping of public space for the polite society, instead of a visual knowledge of unfamiliar places.

[19] Myriorama consists of a set of illustrated cards that can be arranged in different sequences to form varied views. For a detailed discussion of the myriorama, see Ralph Hyde, 'Myrioramas, Endless Landscapes: The Story of a Craze,' *Print Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (December 2004): 403-421. Transparencies already appeared in the eighteenth century. They are scenes painted on different surfaces, including paper and various types of textile, which are then lit on the back to produce the illuminated effect. See John Plunkett, 'Light Work: Feminine Leisure and the Making of Transparencies,' in *Crafting the Woman Professional in the Long Nineteenth Century: Artistry and Industry in Britain*, eds. Kyriaki Hadjiafxendi and Patricia Zakreski (Burlington, Vt. : Ashgate 2013), 44-52, for more details on transparencies, especially those on paper.

[20] J. Mordaunt Crook, "Metropolitan Improvements: John Nash and the Picturesque," in *London World City, 1800-1840*, ed. Celina Fox (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1992), 77-87. The significance of the landscape aesthetics involved in Regent's Park to the paper peepshow will be discussed in Chapter Three.

[21] *The Areaorama, a View on the Thames*, published by S. & J. Fuller, hand-coloured aquatint, c1825, Gestetner 194, the V&A. The choice of adopting the aesthetics of topographical instead of landscape art might be influenced by the increasing interest in topography during this period. For details, see for example Bermingham, 'Landscape-O-Rama,' 135; Felicity Myrone, '"The Monarch of the Plain": Paul Sandby and Topography,' in *Paul Sandby (1731-1809): Picturing Britain*, eds. John Bonehill and Stephen Daniels (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2009), 57.

[22] In Reid-Walsh, *Interactive Books*, 137, the author also points out the connection between the paper peepshow (with *A View in the Regent's Park* as the example) and topography. However, Reid-Walsh does not examine any other works and treats the paper peepshow as a medium devoted to depicting landscape or townscape, which does not reflect the wide range of subject matters represented by English works. The erroneous categorization of the paper peepshow as a landscape entertainment can also be seen in Terpak, 'Objects and Contexts,' 343.

represent landscape might to have occurred to amateur makers first, as demonstrated by the work *The Wye. Newland House*. Its depiction focuses on leisure activities of the affluent classes, including visiting countryside mansion (or residence), boating, horse-riding, and picnicking by the river. The portrayal is essentially a combination of topography and landscape art. For example, elements such as the mansion are depicted in a more factual style. At the same time, the environment by the river and on the back-scene is executed with reference to the aesthetic vocabulary of the picturesque (Fig. 1.4).

In addition to being a medium not exclusively devoted to portraying landscape or townscape, the paper peepshow also differs from other landscape entertainments contemporary to it in another important aspect. The literary scholar Jacqueline Reid-Walsh argues that the 'idea of elegant transformation' captured in *A View in the Regent's Park* was designed to 'amuse and educate the viewer in aesthetic appreciation.'[23] However, she does not provide much evidence for her claim. Moreover, the advertisement for this work in 1825, mentioned in the Introduction, only describes it as amusing and interesting and does not give any indication of its educational purpose.[24] When the same paper peepshow was listed in another product by the same publisher in 1830, it was referred to as 'an optical illusion, very amusing.'[25] While the description for a set of three paper peepshows in another publisher's sales catalogue is quite different, it also categorizes them as 'amusing presents.'[26] As the word that appears in every advertisement for this medium identified so far, 'amusing' seems to be deemed as the appropriate characterization of the paper peepshow. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'amusing' is used to refer to something that is 'pleasantly entertaining or diverting; exciting the risible faculty, tickling the fancy.'[27] In nineteenth-century advertisements for other visual media mentioned above, 'amusing' or 'amusement' also appeared frequently, but usually in combination with reference to the products' educational values. In the announcement for the sales of a portable diorama, for instance, the producer stresses the combination of amusement and instruction in the device, which would make the

[23] Reid-Walsh, *Interactive Books*, 137.
[24] '*The Areaorama*,' 2.
[25] Cited in Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 176.
[26] Thomas McLean, *Sporting and Miscellaneous Works* (London: Thomas McLean, 1828), 2, Folder McLean (Thomas and Hector), John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford, Oxford.
[27] *Oxford English Dictionary* Online, s.v. 'a'musing, adj.' (Oxford University Press, December 2018), accessed 10 December 2018, http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/Entry/6794?rskey=pCpjxz&result=3&isAdvanced=false.

portable diorama a 'source of rational enjoyment.'[28] A similar tone was adopted in the advertisement for a myriorama, which first highlights how the device can 'excite amongst young persons . . . a taste for Drawing' before adding that it can provide 'an inexhaustible source of amusement.'[29] This practice of emphasizing visual media as not only recreational was not restricted to home-use pastimes either. For example, the panorama was also marketed as a form of public entertainment that was educational.[30] These examples constitute manifestations of the idea of combining learning with pleasure—rational amusement, which was widely circulated in the nineteenth century.[31] The lack of reference to any educational potential in the paper peepshow in comparison is thus apparent. It can indicate that just as the definition of 'amusing' suggests, this medium was marketed as an object primarily endowed with the expectation to provide enjoyment. It should divert the mind away from any serious business and was not expected to have any significant roles to play in enlightening its users.

Apart from entertainments that represent the landscape in innovative formats, another manifestation of the culture of looking, also relevant to the paper peepshow, is a group of toys and devices that concern themselves with the mechanism of the human eyes.[32] In *Techniques of the Observer*, Jonathan Crary's main argument is that in the nineteenth century, the embodied vision emerged as a new way of seeing, and scientists devoted much research to the functioning of the human eye, analysing phenomena such as binocular vision and afterimage.[33] Crary also demonstrates how the public also shared the interest in the development of vision and how new scientific discoveries found their way into visual and optical toys such as the kaleidoscope and

[28] 'An Elegant Present for the Families of the Nobility and Gentry,' *Morning Chronicle*, 13 February 1826, 4, British Library Newspapers, Gale Primary Sources.
[29] 'An Acceptable Present,' *Examiner*, 25 January 1824, 64, British Library Newspapers, Gale Primary Sources.
[30] Bermingham, 'Landscape-O-Rama,' 131.
[31] Altick, *The Shows of London*, 3-4. Here Altick focuses on public shows and exhibitions embedding the idea of educational or rational amusement, which often reached all social strata. See Bernard Lightman, 'Victorian Science and Popular Visual Culture,' *Early Popular Visual Culture* 10, no. 1 (February 2012): 1-5 for a discussion of this concept in the context of combining science with spectacles. In John Brewer, 'Childhood Revisited: The Genesis of the Modern Toy,' *History Today* 30, no. 12 (1980): 35-36, Brewer examines rational amusement in relation to upper- and middle-class children's toys.
[32] Although some of the abovementioned entertainments, such as the panorama, also involves new ways of seeing, they are different from the media discussed here as the experience of viewing the panorama does not centre on observing manifestations of science about the functioning of the eye. See Jonathan Crary, 'Géricault, the Panorama, and Sites of Reality in the Early Nineteenth Century,' *Grey Room*, no. 9 (Autumn 2002): 21-22 for an example of the discussion of the novel mode of looking in the panorama.
[33] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*.

the thaumatrope.[34] Often referred to with the oxymoron 'philosophical toy[s],' they were intended as both 'scientific explanation' and 'popular entertainment.' [35] Therefore, similar to the abovementioned landscape entertainments, these philosophical toys were also examples of rational amusement, albeit with vision as their focus.[36] Notwithstanding the critiques he has received over his theorization of new modes of looking in the nineteenth century, Crary's insight in the heightened interest in vision and its manifestation in visual and optical entertainments in this period has nonetheless been testified by much subsequent scholarship.[37]

As detailed below, compared to these optical devices, the paper peepshow does not show any explicit links to the nineteenth-century scientific study of the eye, which can be another indication that it was not presented to the market as having an educational function. Nonetheless, as discussed below, some of the optical effects it generates responded to this period's interest in different ways of looking. However, the sensation gained through consuming it differs from the experience of using philosophical toys. In the case of the latter, the mechanism that conjures up visual illusions and the knowledge of vision that these objects entail would be no less important to nineteenth-century viewers than the scenes represented. When it comes to the paper peepshow, on the contrary, the method used to create three-dimensionality was long known to everyone. It would be the experience that this object created and how it could affect users' interpretation of the scenes depicted that constituted the main attraction of its consumption.

In addition to conceptual inspirations, producers of paper peepshows also took from popular entertainments in the early nineteenth century ideas about naming their products. Within the first decades after the paper peepshow's inception, many works were given the name with the suffix '-orama.' The market witnessed bizarre coinages such as the abovementioned *Areaorama*, as well as *Subaquarama* (about the Thames Tunnel), *Viaorama* (about the road leading to St. Paul's Cathedral in London),

[34] The thaumatrope is an optical toy consisting of a disc with different images on each of its two sides. When rotated rapidly, the two images appear to merge into one.
[35] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 106.
[36] For a discussion of the root of philosophical toys in Enlightenment ideas of vision and education, see Barbara Maria Stafford, *Artful Science: Enlightenment, Entertainment and the Eclipse of Visual Education* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994), 47-67.
[37] See for example Tom Gunning, 'The Play between Still and Moving Images: Nineteenth-Century "Philosophical Toys" and Their Discourse,' in *Between Stillness and Motion: Film, Photography, Algorithms*, eds. Eivind Røssaak (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, c2011), 27-43; Dulac and Gaudreault, 'Circularity and Repetition at the Heart of the Attraction,' 227-244.

Cheltenhamorama (about the Old Well Walk in Cheltenham), and *Theatreorama*.[38] One publisher, Thomas McLean, even named his series of paper peepshows *Pocket Panorama*.[39] All of these terms were probably intended as a reference to the panorama, even though there are few structural similarities between it and any of these paper peepshows. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, when the panorama was at its height of popularity, the fad of associating products with this medium, either by appropriating the term or simply using it, can be observed in many areas in not just England, but all of Europe.[40] In most instances, the reference to the panorama was designed to give the impression of a magnificent, gigantic view, or to indicate that the product can provide a sweeping survey or overview of a certain topic.[41] In the case of the paper peepshow, none of these associations would be deemed suitable as the peep-view is neither sensational in scale nor comprehensive in any way. Instead, it is more likely that producers appropriated the word 'panorama' to borrow the popularity of this public entertainment. After the paper peepshow became more widely known on the market, it would be no longer necessary to claim its affinity with other media, which might explain why works produced after the early-1830s no longer have '-orama' in their titles.

The Omnipresence of the Print

While the paper peepshow had various connections with many types of visual and optical entertainments, what many scholars have so far overlooked is that it also belonged to the world of print culture. This can be understood in two ways. Firstly, as a medium that uses the same material and techniques of production as two-dimensional prints but represents scenes in three-dimensionality, the paper peepshow can be considered as having a relationship of remediation with the latter in certain functions. This connection can manifest itself in many ways and have different

[38] All of these works are at the V&A. They are: *The Subaquarama*, published by T. Brown, hand-coloured etching 1825, Gestetner 196; *Viaorama, or the Way to St. Paul's*, published by Ingrey & Madeley, hand-coloured lithograph, 1825, Gestetner 197; *The Cheltenhamorama, a View of the Old Well Walk*, published by Henry Lamb, hand-coloured lithograph, c1832, Gestetner 226 and Gestetner 227 (two works of the same title but slightly different content). In *Paper Peepshows*, 21, Hyde speculates that the first of such neologism, 'areaorama,' took inspiration from the term '*teleorama*' used by the Austrian publisher Heinrich Friedrich Müller. Yet he estimates the date of the first paper peepshow by Müller to be some time between the end of 1824 and October 1825 (10). There is thus no concrete evidence to suggest that the first paper peepshow with the title 'areaorama,' published in May 1825, appeared on the market after works by Müller.

[39] McLean, *Sporting and Miscellaneous Works*, 2.

[40] See Stephan Oetterman, *The Panorama, History of a Mass Medium*, trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider (New York, N.Y.: Zone Books, 1997), 6-7 for a detailed discussion of this phenomenon. The reference to the panorama can still be observed even today.

[41] Ibid., 6-7.

significance in each case. One of such instances becomes particularly prominent in paper peepshows portraying watering resorts, and it will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

Secondly, the paper peepshow also participated the new development of the early nineteenth-century English print culture. Thomas Bewick's popularization of the wood engraving process, as well as several other early nineteenth-century technical advancements such as '[t]he introduction . . . of mechanised paper-making (1803) [and] the steam-powered press (1814),' meant that printed images could be more cheaply and quickly produced.[42] The increase in the number of printed materials also stimulated the expansion of their diversity. The development of many forms of new media that resulted from these changes is well-known and much-discussed: the popularization of the illustrated book; the emergence of periodicals with wood engravings; and the inception of the illustrated newspaper. Most of these media, however, only really started to appear or make a considerable impact from the 1840s or later. However, as the print scholar Brian Maidment observes, there also emerged much lesser-known printed matter on paper in the early decades of the nineteenth century, which usually enjoyed a short lifespan but often created a fad in society. Maidment lists examples including the comic annual, pamphlets of comic poems combined with a set of full-page wood-engraved images, caustic lithographed pastiched 'title pages' produced with grids of tiny images, playtexts reformed to accommodate wood engravings, and songbooks.[43] Apart from technical advancement, the constant demands of consumers for novel forms of print also contributed to the growth of such intense interest in the variety of new printed materials.[44]

One characteristic of the rapidly developing print culture of this period is particularly worth mentioning in the discussion of the emergence of the paper peepshow: the growing influence of the perception that printed matter on paper was not just to be read or looked at, but also actively manipulated and interacted with.[45]

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[42] Patricia Anderson, *The Printed Image and the Transformation of Popular Culture, 1790-1860* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 2 and 17-18.
[43] Brian Maidment, 'Scraps and Sketches,' 2-4.
[44] Sandro Jung, Introduction to *British Literature and Print Culture*, ed. Sandro Jung (Cambridge; Rochester, N. Y.: D. S. Brewer, 2013), 1-4.
[45] Luisa Calé and Patrizia Di Bello, 'Introduction: Verbal and Visual Interactions in Nineteenth-Century Print Culture,' *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, no. 5 (2007): 2, accessed 18 June 2018, http://doi.org/10.16995/ntn.460. In *Interacting with Print* by The Multigraph Collective, the phenomenon is discussed extensively, with regards to print in various forms. In Clare Pettitt, *Serial Forms: The Unfinished Project of Modernity, 1815-1848* (Oxford University Press, 2020), 222-223, Pettitt also comments on this phenomenon, and offers another approach to analyse it as she argues that such participatory and tactile interaction with print helped people establish ownership of the new visual culture of the period.

The mechanical print, a typical example of this interest, is closely relevant to the paper peepshow. Although the heyday of the production of mechanical prints in England came only in the 1830s, the idea behind this medium had been around for centuries, and it was already popular on the Continent at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[46] Produced in three forms—with flaps, tabs or volvelles, mechanical prints utilise a simple mechanism to add movement and three-dimensionality to the printed image in order to enhance its appeal.[47] They were often used as elements in children's movable books.[48] Sometimes, they were also produced and sold as independent works and were often aimed at both adults and children.[49] Unlike the paper peepshow, they seldom depict subject matter in a neutral light, but comically or satirically. Nevertheless, mechanical prints represent a form of realising the interest in interaction with printed materials, which is formally similar to the paper peepshow. As will be discussed below in relation to homemade works, in the early 1800s, there existed also other novel printed matter on paper that embodies this period's interest in active manipulation of prints. The close affinity the paper peepshow had with these media is thus another indication that the former belonged to the early nineteenth-century print culture.

The Force of Consumer Culture

As much as the birth of the paper peepshow was influenced by the culture of looking and developments in the world of prints, this medium is also a product of consumer culture that was becoming an increasingly dominant ideology of the English society during the nineteenth century. There has been much debate surrounding the exact moment of the origin of this culture, and scholarship has proposed a date as early as the sixteenth or the seventeenth century and as late as the second half of the nineteenth century.[50] As the literary scholar Nicholas Mason rightly observes, such

[46] Sileas Wood, 'Moving Pictures: Nineteenth-Century British Mechanical Prints,' *Print Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (June 2017): 162.
[47] Ibid., 162.
[48] See Ann Montanaro, 'A Concise History of Pop-up and Movable Books,' accessed 20 October 2017, https://www.libraries.rutgers.edu/rul/libs/scua/montanar/p-intro.htm for an example of the discussion of mechanical prints in this context. Here I adopt Montanaro's definition of movable books, which describes them as books 'supplemented with innovative movable paper mechanisms.' See Ann Montanator, 'Movables Books and Pop-Up Books,' in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*, ed. Jack Zipes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), accessed 1 September 2020, https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195146561.001.0001/acref-9780195146561-e-2273.
[49] For popular and typical examples, see Sileas Wood, 'Moving Pictures,' 162-176.
[50] See Nicolas Mason, 'Consumer Culture: Getting and Shopping in the Romantic Age,' in *A Concise Companion to the Romantic Age*, ed. on Klancher (Chichester; Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 189-211 for a detailed review of the scholarly debate on the moment of and reason for the birth of consumer culture in England or Britain.

discussions largely hinge upon the question of definition.[51] In this thesis, the conceptualization by the sociologist Don Slater is adopted. Slater uses consumer culture to refer to the phenomenon that 'in the modern world, core social practices and cultural values, ideas, aspirations and identifies are defined and oriented in relation to consumption rather than other social dimensions such as work or citizenship, religious cosmology or military role.'[52] Considered according to this definition, the late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century British society, which witnessed the development of the retail economy of an unprecedented scale, 'sophisticated new marketing methods and . . . enormous proliferation of advertisements', and consumers obsessed with commodities, can be argued as one sufficiently influenced by consumer culture.[53]

To be sure, such phenomena were only affecting the upper and middle classes and were out of reach for the majority of the country's population.[54] As Thomas Richards argues, it was only in the second half of the nineteenth century when 'a phenomenology and a psychology for a new kind of being, the consumer, and a new strain of ideology, consumerism' were fashioned.[55] However, his statement focuses on a shift in consumer behaviour that concerns a broader spectrum of society. For the discussion here on the middle classes, it suffices that even when consumer culture did not reach the whole society in the first half of the nineteenth century, it was already a reality for them.[56] Moreover, this culture affected not only middle-class adults but also their children. While they might not possess much purchase power, children 'held formative roles as agents defining demands, swaying market forces and challenging older people's conception.'[57]

The saturation of consumer culture in the lives of the middle classes had multiple layers of implications for the appearance of the paper peepshow. First is the commodification of visual experience. This is a process that encompassed both popular, mass entertainments and what are now commonly referred to as products of

[51] Ibid., 192.
[52] Don Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997), 24.
[53] Mason, 'Consumer Culture', 190.
[54] Ibid., 192-193.
[55] Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, c.1990), 5.
[56] Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity*, 14.
[57] Denis Denisoff, 'Introduction: Small Change: The Consumerist Designs of the Nineteenth-Century Child,' in *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture*, ed. Dennis Denisoff (Aldershot; Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2008), 4.

'high culture,' such as fine arts, music and theatre.[58] The aforementioned appropriation of landscape aesthetics constitutes an example of this process. In the case of the panorama, for example, by bringing a landscape or a cityscape into the easy reach and consumption of anyone willing and able to pay the entrance fee, the panorama turns into commodity both the experience of virtual travel and the landscape or cityscape it represents.[59] The logic of the paper peepshow is very similar. Instead of showing life-size imageries, it provides views of places and events in the miniature package of cut-out panels. For a few shillings, the sceneries could be purchased and possessed for private pleasures.

A different implication of consumer culture relevant to the emergence of the paper peepshow is the demand for novelty. Commenting on the scene of public shows and entertainments in nineteenth-century London, Richard Altick observes the audience's increasingly restless desire for innovation.[60] Moreover, as discussed above, the desire for the new also contributed to the growth of innovative formats of prints. While such demands certainly did exist, it is necessary to stress that they were often not merely a wish for novelty as such, but also a result of the unlimited and insatiable needs nurtured by consumer culture. How these demands were produced can be elucidated with Marx's conceptualization of commodity fetishism, which he proposes to explain how an object, 'as soon as it emerges as a commodity, . . . changes into a thing which transcends sensuousness.'[61] As the film theorist Laura Mulvey summarises, on the market, human labour that produces the commodity and gives it value cannot be displayed indexically, but needs to be expressed by the generalized sign system: money.[62] The process results in the marks of production and labour being made invisible and severed from the commodity, which appears, as a result, to possess autonomous value 'with a seductive sheen.'[63] Such is the process that gives rise to commodity fetishism. Objects are hence falsely associated with intrinsic

[58] Many have also pointed out that this is a process that already started in the eighteenth century. See for example Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1989), especially 29-40; Ann Bermingham, Introduction to *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*, eds. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (New York, N.Y.; London: Routledge, 1997), 2-10; John Brewer, '"The Most Polite and the Most Vicious:" Attitude Towards Culture as a Commodity, 1600-1800,' in the same volume, 341-360.
[59] Alison Byerly, '"A Prodigious Map Beneath His Feet": Virtual Travel and the Panoramic Perspective,' *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 29, no. 2-3 (2007): 151.
[60] Altick, *The Shows of London*, 3.
[61] Marx, *Capital*, 163.
[62] Laura Mulvey, *Fetishism and Curiosity* (Bloomington, Ind.; London: Indiana University Press, 1996), 3.
[63] Ibid., 3-4.

meanings, which can then be used to 'stimulat[e] desire that can be realized as market-driven demand.'[64] Through this mechanism, novel commodities became linked with ideas such as development, growth, or being fashionable, and would thus generate much desire for purchase from customers. John Plumb argues that the demand for the new influenced by consumer culture was already underway in eighteenth-century England, and it certainly continued to exert further impact in the nineteenth century, suggested in part by how English shops constantly impressed foreign visitors with their ever-changing fashion and new products on offer.[65] The same desire for novelty also manifested itself in the market of visual and optical entertainments and was one of the forces that motivated the birth of the paper peepshow. For merchants who sought profit by continuously offering new commodities, it would be only natural for this medium to enter their stock as yet another novelty for luring customers.

Moreover, the experience of using the paper peepshow also means that this object would provide a suitable platform for the mechanism of commodity fetishism to work on nineteenth-century consumers. In William Pietz's summary of the characteristics essential to the notion of the fetish, two of the four features he discusses are particularly relevant here. Pietz highlights that all kinds of fetish 'in an essential way involve the object's untranscended materiality,' and that 'the embodied status of the individual' constitutes a fundamental theme in the relations of the person to 'the material fetish object.'[66] As will be discussed in detail below, as an object of miniature size, the paper peepshow demands us to get into a bodily relationship with it, since its consumption inevitably requires us to hold it and look at it up close so that we can enter the world behind the front-face through the peep-hole. In this embodied engagement with the paper peepshow, the paper materiality of this object is also highlighted through our constant handling of it. The consumption experience of this medium thus provides the conditions for the two features of the fetish, the materiality of the object and the embodied individual, to play their part in maximising the appeal of the commodity and generating the desire of purchase.

Commodity fetishism also endows objects with connotations of identity and status, which concerns another aspect of consumer culture—the conspicuous

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[64] Ibid., 5.

[65] John Plumb, 'The Acceptance of Modernity,' in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England*, eds. Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb (London: Europa Publications, 1982), 316 and 332. See also Simon Jervis, 'Rudolph Ackermann,' in *London World City* (see note 20), 97.

[66] William Pietz, 'The Problem of the Fetish, I,' *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 9 (Spring 1985): 7; 10.

consumption—relevant to the paper peepshow. Probably the most famous concept derived from Thorstein Veblen's work, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, conspicuous consumption argues for the close connection between prestige and luxury goods, as the ostentatious display of these objects constitutes a crucial part in confirming and making known the social status of their owners.[67] Notwithstanding the critiques this concept has received, and the fact that it was initially developed to analyse the behaviour of the new rich in the second half of the nineteenth century, conspicuous consumption does have significant implications for the discussion of the paper peepshow. Instances that can be categorized under this concept already existed in the early nineteenth century. As argued by Mason using examples from Jane Austen's novels, the piano is a prominent example that demonstrates that in the world of upper and middle classes in this period, 'certain goods [took] on such powerful symbolic and ideological resonances that they [came] to shape their owners' identities.'[68]

Moreover, the goods bought for the purpose of marking one's social status did not have to be luxury goods, and this is why the purchase of paper peepshows can be understood as a form of conspicuous consumption. As a pastime mainly designed to provide enjoyment, the paper peepshow had a delicate appearance due to its paper texture and miniature shape but did not really have a utilitarian purpose compared to most of the other domestic visual or optical recreations, and was sold at a price relatively inexpensive for its targeted customers.[69] It can hence be categorized under the term 'fancy articles.' In the early nineteenth-century context, these are objects that are 'delicately made, but not expensive, formerly "luxury" goods such gilt-paper flower cases, card racks, perfumes, decorative boxes, and toys.'[70]

While fancy articles were mostly non-utilitarian and trivial, they were nonetheless crucial to the construction and confirmation of the middle-class identity in this period.[71] In the eighteenth century, such goods were the privilege of the genteel class.[72] For the economist Adam Smith, the upper classes' pursuit after these goods were childish behaviours from which the middle-class economic rationality should be

[67] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 1994), 45.
[68] Mason, 'Consumer Culture,' 204.
[69] As mentioned in the Introduction, the average price of the paper peepshow was five to seven shillings. Compared to similar domestic optical and visual entertainments, such as the myriorama sold at fifteen shillings (see note 29), this was relatively inexpensive.
[70] Tammy Whitlock, *Crime, Gender and Consumer Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 52.
[71] Ibid., 52.
[72] Ibid., 26.

distinguished.[73] In the chapter on toys in *Practical Education*, co-written with her father Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Maria Edgeworth also stresses the importance of teaching children to distinguish Good Toys—useful educational tools, from Bad Toys, which are frivolous and useless goods.[74] Fancy articles would be categorized as a type of the so-called Bad Toys. However, these cautionary notes did not prevent the middle classes from developing an interest in such goods. Instead, in the early nineteenth century, they were purchased in acts of conspicuous consumption and became vital to the claim of the middle classes to status and capital, as they filled their owners' parlour and announced their financial capability and awareness of fashion.[75] At the same time, this form of consumption can also be understood as a manifestation of the culture of gentility discussed in the Introduction, which placed much importance on the possession of the right kinds of material goods that indicated the middle-class owners' taste and social standing.[76] As a fancy article, the paper peepshow was thus not only an object that emerged in the context of English nineteenth-century consumer culture but also one whose appearance benefited significantly from various phenomena related to commodity fetishism, one of the core features of this culture.

Publishers, Retailers and Users of the Paper Peepshow

By examining the various socio-cultural phenomena with which the paper peepshow had connections around the time of its appearance in nineteenth-century England, the discussion above has traced its genealogy in visual and optical entertainments, print culture, and consumer culture. This examination highlights the diverse functions and roles of this medium, a fact that will become clearer in the case study chapters. Since the paper peepshow in the nineteenth century was first and foremost a commodity, its production and circulation constituted a significant part of our understanding of it. Investigation of its producers and retailers is thus crucial in my study. As to be expected, since its emergence, the paper peepshow continued to evolve in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. In particular, starting from the early 1840s, when this medium entered the late stage of its development, some paper peepshows were used to fulfil new functions while some others began to appear in new formats as producers sought to revitalize the attractiveness of their products. As

[73] Teresa Michals, 'Experimenting Before Breakfast: Toy Education and Middle-Class Childhood,' in *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture* (see note 57), 34.
[74] Ibid., 29-42.
[75] Whitlock, *Crime, Gender and Consumer Culture*, 26; 52.
[76] See Young, *Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, 88-94; 153-188 for a detailed discussion.

such changes are closely linked with the two cases studies discussed in Chapters Four and Five, producers and retailers involved in these transformations will not be discussed here, but in the respective chapters.

Producers of commercial paper peepshows involved many parties, including the artist or designer, printer, book- or printseller, and the publisher.[77] Yet the discussion here examines only the publisher, a role which established its modern meaning—a person or company responsible for the organization of producing and distributing publications for sales—only in the early nineteenth century.[78] The decision takes into account two factors. Firstly, in most cases, only information about the publisher of paper peepshows is available. While sometimes these publishing bodies are firms that also would have the capacity to overtake other aspects of the production of these works, there is no evidence to suggest that they did take roles other than that of the publisher. Secondly, this section aims to examine further the position of the paper peepshow on the market, instead of its depiction of different subject matters, which is the focus of the subsequent chapters. Since publishers decided what materials to be put on the market and had the goal of making these products commercially viable, the nature of their business is most relevant to the discussion here.[79]

About half of the English paper peepshows produced before the early 1840s have sufficient and definitive information about their publishers, and only a handful contain details about where they would have been sold. Nevertheless, even with limited information, what is available still proves useful in shedding lights on the production and circulation of the English commercial paper peepshow in the early to middle stages of its evolution. Roughly three kinds of publishers can be identified: those specializing in producing prints; artists; and merchants whose main business was manufacturing trivial and fancy articles.[80]

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[77] Until late eighteenth century, these roles were usually combined in one person or one organisation. For details, see Marrisa Dominique Joseph, 'Literary Business: The British Publishing Industry and Its Business Practices 1843-1900' (PhD diss., Queen Mary, University of London, 2016), 160; John Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, 2nd ed. (London; New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2006), 4.

[78] Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, 4; *Oxford English Dictionary* Online, s.v. 'publisher, n.' (Oxford University Press, June 2020), accessed 19 June 2020, https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/Entry/154076?redirectedFrom=publisher.

[79] Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, 1.

[80] In Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 179, Hyde identifies Silvester & Co. Sc. at 27 Strand, London as the publisher for the paper peepshow *The Tunnel* [b], attributed to Silvester & Co. Sc., hand-coloured etching and steel engraving, 1825, Gestetner 198, the V&A. Hyde does not give the reason for his identification, but it is probably based on the fact that the shutter image of this paper peepshow bears the publisher's imprint (which is behind the peep-hole and not visible when the work is closed). However, this image also appears repeatedly in various Thames Tunnel guides, such as the title page

In the first category, there are S. & J. Fuller (Samuel Williams and Joseph Carr), Thomas McLean, Charles Tilt, and (Charles) Ingrey & (George Edward) Madeley. S. & J. Fuller was responsible for three paper peepshows: the abovementioned *A View in the Regent's Park* and *A View on the Thames*, and the work [*Masquerade*].[81] The Fullers were very conscious of self-promotion and left many records behind. In addition to being publishers, they were also printsellers, stationers, manufacturers, and artists' colourmen.[82] One of their repeatedly-reproduced prints from the 1820s depicts their shop in 34 Rathbone Place in London, titled Temple of Fancy (Fig. 1.5). Surrounding the view of their shop are lines that describe the Fullers as 'preparers of permanent superfine water colours [*sic*]; . . . wholesale manufacturers of Bristol Boards, ivory paper, and cards; . . . publishers of the greatest variety of sporting prints, and rudimental works of the art of drawing, by the first artists; . . . [and] engravers, publishers, printsellers, and fancy stationers,' who also sold items ranging from scrapbooks to face screens. In addition to publishing three paper peepshows, S. & J. Fuller had at least one paper panorama in their stock.[83]

It appears that in comparison to the Fullers who tapped into a wide variety of fields, Thomas McLean and Charles Tilt were more concentrated in the print publishing business. A publisher as well as a printseller, McLean was responsible for three works.[84] His premises in 26 Haymarket in London was named Repository of Wit and Humour, which reflects his speciality in publishing political caricatures.[85] In his

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of *The Origin, Progress, and Present State of the Thames Tunnel: And the Advantages likely to Accrue from It, both to the Proprietors and to the Public*, 4th ed. (London: Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange, 1827) and its different editions. The image also exists as a free-standing print: *Thames Tunnel*, Anonymous, 1824, C.48.12 P1824, SC-GL-NOB-C-048-1-048-12, Noble Collection, London Metropolitan Archives, London. It can thus be argued that it is possible that the shutter image in the paper peepshow was taken from other sources without the publisher's imprint being erased, and it alone is not enough to identify Silvester & Co. Sc. as the publisher. Hence, this company will not be included in my subsequent discussion of publishers.

[81] [*Masquerade*], lithographed by T. M. Baynes, published by S. & J. Fuller, hand-coloured lithograph, 1826, Gestetner 207, the V&A.

[82] For more details of their business, see Jacob Simon, 'S. & J. Fuller 1809-1854, Fuller & Co 1855-1862, Joseph & Samuel B. Fuller 1856-1862,' September 2018, accessed 10 December 2018, https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-suppliers/f.

[83] Erkki Huhtamo, *Illusions in Motion*, 47.

[84] In McLean, *Sporting and Miscellaneous Works*, 2, the three works are listed under the same series 'McLean's Pocket Panoramas,' and are titled *Pocket Panorama of Westminster Abbey*; *Pocket Panorama of the Battle of Waterloo*; *Pocket Panorama of the Battle of Trafalgar*. Two of the three works are represented in archives. See Appendix III for details.

[85] Mark Bills, *The Art of Satire: London in Caricature* (London; New York, N.Y.: Philip Wilson Publishing, 2006), 141. In Brian Maidment, 'Beyond Pickwick: Seymour's Sketches and Regency Print Culture,' in *Studies in Victorian and Modern Literature: A Tribute to John Sutherland*, ed. William Baker (Madison, N. J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, c2015), 143, he also observes that in Regency and early-Victorian London, McLean's business was 'the last surviving firm to specialise in publishing single-plate political caricatures.'

sales catalogue, a large number of sporting and humorous engravings were also included as part of the stock.[86] Like S. & J. Fuller, as well as producing three paper peepshows, McLean also advertised other kinds of optical entertainments, such as the phenakistiscope.[87] On the trade card of his premises at 86 Fleet Street in London, Charles Tilt describes himself as a bookseller, stationer, and publisher (Fig. 1.6). So far, only one paper peepshow is confirmed as the work of Tilt.[88] Although not much written information is available about him, his reputation as a well-known early-nineteenth-century printseller is partly testified by a contemporary's comment on his shop's display window, which ranks it as one of 'eminent print-seller's exhibition[s].'[89] It is worth noting that Tilt was familiar with the publication of mechanical prints too.[90] The last publisher in the first category is Ingrey & Madeley, who produced just one paper peepshow, *Viaorama, or the Way to St. Paul's*.[91] The cooperation between Ingrey and Madeley was short-lived, having lasted for only five years, between 1824 and 1829.[92] As advertised in their trade card, their lithographic print shop in 310 Strand in London produced '[m]aps, plans of estates, buildings, machinery, etc.' as well as papers and cards of various kinds.[93]

In the second category, there is Henry Lamb from Cheltenham, who published two paper peepshows *The Cheltenhamorama, a View of the Old Well Walk* (hereafter *Cheltenhamorama*).[94] As will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three, Lamb was not only an artist but also produced prints himself and was engaged in selling printed materials and fancy articles from his own fancy repository. He thus had certain overlaps in the scope of his business with those from the first group.

The last category includes Charles Essex, who operated the business on his own after the firm C. Essex & Co. dissolved. While the company did not publish any paper peepshows, its name appears on four works produced before 1832 as the

[86] McLean, *Sporting and Miscellaneous Works*, 1-16.
[87] 'Caricature Annual for the Present Year,' *Morning Post*, 27 November 1833, 1, British Library Newspapers, Gale Primary Sources. In the advertisement Mclean named the product as the magic panorama. In *Illusion in Motion*, 50, Huhtamo explains that this refers to the phenakistiscope.
[88] *Perspective View of the Coronation of Queen Victoria in Westminster Abbey, June 26, 1838*, published by Charles Tilt, hand-coloured aquatint, 1838, Gestetner 231, the V&A.
[89] 'ART. II. –*The Angler's Souvenir*,' *Monthly Review* 1, no. 1, February 1836, 157.
[90] Sileas Wood, 'Moving Pictures,'168.
[91] *Viaorama, or the Way to St. Paul's*, Ingrey & Madeley, 1825.
[92] 'Notice,' *The London Gazette*, 24 March 1829, 554; Laurence Worms and Ashley Baynton-Williams, *British Map Engravers: A Dictionary of Engravers, Lithographers and Their Principal Employers to 1850* (London: Rare Book Society, c2011), 342.
[93] Worms and Baynton-Williams, *British Map Engravers*, 342.
[94] *The Cheltenhamorama, a View of the Old Well Walk*, Henry Lamb, c1832 (both works).

retailer.[95] Afterwards, the name of Charles Essex shows itself on three more works, but always as the publisher.[96] While the change from retailer to publisher is interesting, it can only be sufficiently discussed with reference to the content of these paper peepshows and will be analysed in Chapter Five. The main goal of this chapter is to establish the connection between Charles Essex and the company C. Essex & Co., which is not always self-evident. The earliest archival evidence that I can identify dates to 29 December 1825, when C. Essex & Co. put up an advertisement in the *Morning Post*, selling the pantochronometer, described as a type of optical instrument.[97] The business address given is 28 Gloucester Street, Clerkenwell. It matches the one stated in the notice in the *London Gazette* in 1832, which announces that the business partnership between Charles Essex and Alfred Essex was dissolved on 31 December the previous year.[98] The notice describes the two as 'Manufacturers of Pens and Ivory Goods, and Dealers in Fancy Articles.'[99] Given the name of the company and the fact that the notice states that all the 'debts due to and owing by' the partnership is the responsibility of Charles, he probably played a leading role in the business.[100] This might explain why the earliest paper peepshow published by Charles Essex in 1831 bears the same address in Clerkenwell.[101] Around the time of the dissolution of the partnership, as the main shareholder, it is imaginable that he could

[95] These works are: *A Peep at the Fox Chace* [*sic*], Anonymous, sold wholesale by C. Essex & Co., hand-coloured etching and aquatint, Gestetner 211; *View of the Mall in St. James's Park* [a], Anonymous, sold wholesale by C. Essex & Co., hand-coloured aquatint, 1829, Gestetner 212; *A View of the Tunnel under the Thames, as It Will Appear when Completed* [c], published by M. Gouyn, sold by C. Essex & Co., hand-coloured aquatint, 1829, Gestetner 213, all three at the V&A; and *View of St. James's Park during the Progress of His Majesty to the House of Lords, 21st June 1831*, Anonymous, sold wholesale by C. Essex & Co., hand-coloured aquatint, 1831, GV1199. V5, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Conn. Note that not all copies of these works carry the retailer's label. See Appendix III for details. There is another work at the V&A by the title *View of the Mall in St. James's Park* [b], Anonymous, 1830, hand-coloured aquatint, Gestetner 216. It does not have the retailer's information but looks practically identical to the work that has the same title sold by C. Essex & Co (Gestetner 212). The retailer's label on all works sold by this company are simply pasted on the paper peepshows. Thus, it is highly likely that this work produced in 1830 was also distributed by the same company and the label fell off at some point.

[96] *The Coronation in the Abbey of St Peter's Westminster, of His Majesty King William IV*th *and Queen Adelaide*, 1831, Gestetner 224; *The Installation of the Knights of the Garter in the Chapel of St. George, Windsor*, c1831, Gestetner 218. Both hand-coloured aquatint and at the V&A. *The Ceremony of Interring His Majesty William the 4th in the Chapel of St. George, Windsor*, 1837, DA539.T47 C4, Indiana University Library, Lilly Library, Bloomington, Ind. All works drawn and etched by James Robert Thompson and published by C. Essex.

[97] 'The Pantochronometer,' *Morning Post*, 29 December 1825, 1, British Library Newspapers, Gale Primary Sources. According to the description in *A Companion to the Pantochronometer* (London: Charles Essex & Co., 1826), 1, this device is essentially a compass, a sundial and a universal time-dial combined.

[98] 'Notice,' *London Gazette*, 3 January 1832, 7.

[99] Ibid., 7.

[100] Ibid., 7.

[101] See Appendix III for the addresses as printed on the paper peepshows associated with C. Essex & Co. and Charles Essex.

stay on the company's premises while continuing a similar business in fancy article dealing and manufacturing on his own. However, no other works have this address printed. All the four paper peepshows sold by C. Essex & Co. bear 'Gloster St., St. John's' (sometimes 'St. John's St. Road) as the location of the business. As indicated in the map (Fig. 1.7), St. John's Street Road was in Clerkenwell and joined by Gloucester Street from the northwest side. Thus, the difference in the addresses is probably a result of alternative expressions used to describe the same place.[102] The other two works published by Charles Essex give the producer's premises as Wells Street, Grays Inn Road and 10 Upper King Street, Bloomsbury Square. Two factors indicate that these are very likely to be different premises of the same Essex. Firstly, neither of the two locations are far away from the address in Clerkenwell (about fifteen- and twenty-minutes walking distance respectively, according to the modern map of London). It is imaginable that some time after the dissolution of the partnership, Charles Essex moved to other places nearby to continue his business (Fig. 1.8).[103] Secondly, these two works have the same artist and printer as the one involved in the production of the paper peepshow published by the Charles Essex in Clerkenwell. In fact, the design of the three works is similar or almost identical (Fig. 1.9 to Fig. 1.11).[104] Thus, it can be argued that the three works with Charles Essex as their publishers were produced by the same person, who was a former partner of the company C. Essex & Co.

The account above of the various types of people and companies involved in publishing paper peepshows is indicative of its nature. The co-existence of this medium and other optical toys and printed matter on paper in publishers' catalogues reflects its affinity with both visual and optical entertainments and print culture. At

[102] The spelling of 'Gloster Street' is likely to be a mistake or an alternative version of 'Gloucester Street', instead of the name of another street. In the proceedings of the Old Bailey from 2 January 1834, it is described that someone ran out to Myddleton-street (joining Gloucester Street from the north, as shown in the map in Fig.1.7) and came to the corner of Gloster-street. This can indicate that the address in Essex's work indeed refers to Gloucester Street in Clerkenwell. See *Old Bailey Proceedings Online*, January 1834, Trial of CHARLES EVERETT (t18340102-7), accessed 20 June 2020, www.oldbailey online.org, version 8.0. The spelling of 'St. John's' on the paper peepshows, instead of 'St. John', as in the map, is probably also an alternative version. See *Transactions of the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce*, vol. 43 (London: Printed by T. and J. B. Flindsell, 67, St. Martin's-Lane, 1825), 322; *The Literary Miscellany for English Readers Abroad and at Home* (Nuremberg: Frederick Camper; London: Williams & Norgate, 1848), 194 for examples of St. John Street Road spelt as St. John's Street Road.

[103] While the modern map is not identical to that from the 1820s, it can nonetheless be used for a rough estimation of the distance between these addresses, since the corresponding locations have changed little. On the map in Fig. 1.8, Upper King Street is shown as King Street. For information about why these two names refer to the same place, see *UCL Bloomsbury Project*, accessed 20 June 2020, https://www.ucl.ac.uk/bloomsbury-project/streets/king_street.htm.

[104] This aspect will be explored in more detail in Chapter Five.

the same time, the fact that it also found its position among the stock of fancy article dealers testifies its role as an object that could confirm the middle-class status and taste. The diverse range of paper peepshow publishers thus demonstrates the multiplicity of the meanings and values of this medium in nineteenth-century England.

This conclusion can be further consolidated as my analysis moves to the venues where paper peepshows could be purchased. For the same reason discussed above, only the situation before the early 1840s is investigated here, and the development afterwards will be examined in Chapter Four and Five. All the aforementioned producers and retailers of paper peepshows had a shop to sell their works, and it is likely that they did distribute their products at least partly themselves. In addition, there was another retailer of paper peepshows, Daniel Harding Greenin, who, similar to C. Essex & Co., maintained a shop selling fancy goods and toys such as Tunbridge ware and dollhouse furniture in Brighton.[105] The nature of the business of these publishers and retailers would have probably contributed to underscoring the association of the paper peepshow with print culture or its position as an optical toy and fancy article. However, not much is known about these premises, and it is difficult to know in what way did the physical environment of these shops influenced customers' perception of the paper peepshow. Nonetheless, there are two types of venues of sales, about which there is enough information.

The first kind is represented by S. & J. Fuller's Temple of Fancy.[106] Ann Bermingham argues that this shop was one of those in London that were invested with 'an aura of domestic comfort' and where commercial exchanges were cloaked with the allegedly more transcendent pursuit of art and education.[107] This conclusion can be testified by the print of the Fullers' shop (Fig. 1.5). Elegantly decorated with a chandelier and classical style shelves, the showing room is full of carefully arranged

[105] Greenin's name appears on one work: *Telescopic View of the Chain Pier, Brighton*, Anonymous, sold by Daniel Harding Greenin, hand-coloured lithograph, c1842-1843, Gestetner 237, the V&A. See Hyde, *Paper Peepshow*, 197 for information on Greenin's business.

[106] Not all works by the Fullers were sold by them directly. Two copies of *A View in the Regent's Park* bear the retailer's label of Rudolph Ackermann junior, at his premises at 191 Regent Street, London (See Appendix III for details). In Jacob Simon, 'Rudolph Ackermann Junior,' September 2018, accessed 15August 2020, https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-suppliers/a, Simon notes that Ackermann's business focused on sporting and military prints. The scope of the shop would have little overlap with the paper peepshow. *A View in the Regent's Park* might have been sold there as a way to take advantage of the reputation of the premises, not because it fit the nature of the products offered there.

[107] Ann Bermingham, 'Urbanity and the Spectacle of Art,' in *Romantic Metropolis: The Urban Scene of British Culture, 1780-1840*, eds. James K. Chandler and Kevin Gilmartin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 153-155. Although Bermingham mainly discusses such shops in their catering to genteel women, the Fullers did not serve female customers exclusively. See Simon, 'S. & J. Fuller 1809-1854,' for information about S. & J. Fuller's leaflet aimed at male customers.

delicate objects for the home and signifiers of high culture, such as statues, prints, drawings, and paintings, looking more like a bourgeois study than a shop. This was an environment where customers were not treated simply as buyers, but 'cast in the role of worshipers of the fine arts.'[108] The use of the word 'temple' in the Fullers' shop title can be considered as one of the most obvious indications of this practice. The impression of the shop's connection with art and culture would be conferred to the commodities displayed inside. Through the mechanism of commodity fetishism, these products were transformed from practical tools for art-making and non-utilitarian, but delicately made goods to an embodiment of polite and cultural taste befitting the middle classes. Sold in this shop, Fullers' paper peepshows would also be endowed with these values, which reinforced their desirability as a fancy article.

Similar to the Fullers, Henry Lamb probably sold his two *Cheltenhamorama* at his fancy repository. Although information about this shop not nearly as much as that about the Fullers' business, the list of items that Lamb auctioned off after he closed his business in Cheltenham in 1834 does make it clear that his premises offered not only 'watercolours, drawing, and fine prints,' but also 'a great variety of fancy articles.'[109] A work produced in Germany but distributed in England was also sold in a similar environment. The paper peepshow bears the label of a certain 'J. Territt, at his Fancy Repository, 50 High [altered in manuscript to 'North'] Street, Taunton.'[110] The label records that at the same repository, customers could also expect to purchase 'Ornamental Stationery and Drawing Materials of every description; Books, Prints, Music, Writing Desks, Work Boxes, Cutlery, Perfumery, Berlin Wools and Patterns, Toys, and a great variety of Fancy Articles for Presents' as well as access to service concerning treating artworks.[111] Given the similarities between the stock of S. & J. Fuller, Lamb, and Territt, the repositories of the latter two were probably targeted at the same consumer group that went to the Fullers' shop. It is thus imaginable that the premises of Lamb and Territt were also venues that contributed to highlighting the paper peepshow as a status-marking printed matter on paper.

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[108] Bermingham, 'Urbanity and the Spectacle of Art,' 155.

[109] Steven Blake, *Views of Cheltenham 1786-1860: Topographical Prints of a Regency Town* (Cheltenham: Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museums, 1984), 25.

[110] *Das Schloss zu Edinburg / Le château d'Edinbourg / The Castle of Edinburgh*, Anonymous, hand-coloured etching, 13.6 x 23 x 58 cm (expanded), c1835, Gestetner 104, the V&A.

[111] See Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 136, for details of the label. In *Hunt & Co.'s Directory & Topography for the Cities of Exeter and Bristol, etc.* (London: E. Hunt & Co., 1848), 23, the business is recorded as 'Territt's Repository of Arts' and Mrs Territt managed 'The Berlin and Fancy Repository.' It is likely that the Fancy Repository in the 1830s was divided into these two repositories in the 1840s, as the service and commodities offered are highly similar.

The second category of sales outlets for paper peepshows is the Soho Bazaar. Four works bear the retailer's label of a certain W. & A. Essex, the occupier of the stands number 333, 4, 5, and 6 in the Soho Bazaar.[112] Bazaars appeared in England in the early nineteenth century as a novel form of shopping institution for the upper and middle classes. Usually consisting of a building of more than one storey, it was managed by one proprietor, who rented shopping stalls to retailers in different trades.[113] As a venue newly designed for shopping, the bazaar embraced the shifts in retail and consumption in England brought by consumer culture at the beginning of the 1800s. Although also gathering multiple retailers under one roof like the arcade, the bazaar did not recreate the intimate atmosphere of eighteenth-century elite shopping but provided shoppers with an enormous open space.[114] The Soho Bazaar, opened by John Trotter in 1816 in Soho Square, was London's first bazaar and was soon followed by many others that opened in Oxford Street, Leicester Square, Newman Street, Bond Street, James Street, and the Strand.[115]

Several characteristics of the bazaar merit particular attention in relation to the paper peepshow. By appropriating a term from the East for its name, this shopping venue evokes qualities of otherworldliness and the exotic.[116] This not only packages the bazaar as a place of magic and enchantment but also extends such qualities to the products on offer—including paper peepshows. Yet again, the working of commodity

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[112] *A Peep at the Fox Chace* [sic], Anonymous and C. Essex & Co., 1829; *View of St. James's Park during the Progress of His Majesty to the House of Lords, 21st June, 1831,* Anonymous and C. Essex & Co., 1831. *A View of the Tunnel under the Thames, As It Will Appear when Completed* [b], published by S. F. Gouyn, hand-coloured aquatint, 1828, Gestetner 208, the V&A; *A View of the Tunnel under the Thames, as It Will Appear when Completed* [c], M. Gouyn, 1829, TF238.T47 V54 1829, Special Collections, Middlebury College Libraries, Middlebury, Vt. See Appendix III for details of the label and all the copies that bear this label by W. & A. Essex. While in *Paper Peepshows*, 128, Hyde is quite certain of the connection between C. Essex and W. & A. Essex, there is no evidence to confirm this. The same stands at the Soho Bazaar were used by a certain M. L. Essex too, whose retailer's label appeared on an optical toy, a fantascope (phenakistiscope). See *London ABA Rare Book Fair* (London: Marlborough Rare Books, 2018), 23 for details. The interest in optical toys of the three Essexes is noteworthy. The A. Essex of the Soho Bazaar can be Alfred Essex of the company C. Essex & Co., but it is difficult to prove that there was any relationship between them.

[113] Alison Adburgham, *Shops and Shopping, 1800-1914: Where, and in What Manner the Well-Dressed Englishwoman Bought Her Clothes* (London: Barri & Jenkins, 1989), 18. *A Visit to the Bazaar* (London: J. Harris, 1818), a children's book about the Soho Bazaar, provides useful information about what these shopping stalls were, which ranged from gun shops to bakery.

[114] Whitlock, *Crime, Gender and Consumer Culture*, 39. Whitlock also argues that the bazaar can be considered as a forerunner of the department store.

[115] Jane Rendell, '"Bazaar Beauties" or "Pleasure is our Pursuit": A Spatial Story of Exchange.' in *The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space*, ed. Iain Borden (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, 2002), 112. There were two kinds of bazaars, the commercial and the charity. For more discussion on the differences between them, see Gary R. Dyer, 'The "Vanity Fair" of Nineteenth-Century England: Commerce, Women, and the East in the Ladies' Bazaar,' *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 46, no. 2 (September 1991): 196-222.

[116] Rendell, '"Bazaar Beauties",' 112.

fetishism can be observed here: in order to attract more customers, retailers associated the sheen of exotic and dreamlike with goods as their autonomous value. At the same time, the environment of the bazaar was presented as the opposite of the unruly and dirty London streets and fitting for respectable shoppers. For example, the Pantheon, a bazaar on Oxford Street opened in 1834, was described as 'large, dry, commodious, well lighted, warm, ventilated, and properly watched.'[117] The exclusive status of the venue of shopping was then transferred to the commodities sold there to enhance their appeal further. It is also worth pointing out that the bazaar was known and sometimes even critiqued for being a place where fancy articles were the main products sold, making it a perfect location for the circulation of paper peepshows.[118]

Bazaars were not just venues for shopping, as many were also a place of entertainment and spectacle. To draw shoppers, managers of bazaars made available in their premises the latest 'visual and mechanical innovations' as well as 'the most fashionable methods of entertainment' such as live music.[119] Not surprisingly, the various popular nineteenth-century visual entertainments could also be found in these shopping venues. In the advertisement for the New Royal Bazaar in Leicester Square in 1831, for example, grand cosmoramic views were listed as part of the attractions available to shoppers.[120] The diorama was also featured in other bazaars; in fact, the Royal Bazaar on Oxford Street was even burned down due to an accident during the presentation of the diorama.[121] Although there is no record of any visual entertainments shown in the Soho Bazaar, it was in proximity to a great variety of them. The New Royal Bazaar and the Royal Bazaar that offered various spectacles were located not far from the Soho Bazaar (Fig. 1.12). Additionally, in Leicester Square, where the New Royal Bazaar was, there was also Robert Baker's famous panorama (in the management of John and Robert Burford between 1826 and 1861).[122] Therefore, such an environment surrounding the Soho Bazaar might highlight the role of the paper peepshow as a visual recreation. Although the venues of sales discussed above do not represent every circulation channel of this object, they

[117] Ibid., 113.
[118] Whitlock, *Crime, Gender and Consumer Culture*, 47.
[119] Ibid., 47.
[120] Ibid., 47-49.
[121] Ibid. 58-59. The Royal Bazaar was renamed the Queen's Bazaar when it was rebuilt after the fire. The exact address of the Royal Bazaar was 73 Oxford Street. For details, see 'Princess's,' Theatre Trust, accessed 13 December 2018, https://database.theatrestrust.org.uk/resources/theatres/show/3271-princess-s-london.
[122] Oetterman, *The Panorama*, 113.

are nevertheless important examples that demonstrate how its meaning and commodity value were further reinforced by where it could be purchased.

While information about publishers and retailers of paper peepshows provides significant insight into the varied functions and roles of this medium, an analysis of its users can add another dimension to our understanding of it. This thesis focuses on the middle classes' consumption of paper peepshows, yet would it be possible to refine this category further? Most of the scholars mentioned in the Introduction who discuss users of this medium state their argument as a matter of assertion or base it on quite subjective interpretation. In my analysis, while the relevant sources are scarce, they are nonetheless examined in detail as they can provide some concrete evidence. One popular view assumes that the paper peepshow belonged to the world of children.[123] Different kinds of archival records can support this opinion. Among these sources, advertisements of paper peepshows, although only available from two publishers, provide the most unambiguous information. As one of the pioneers of children's movable books, S. & J. Fuller advertised both *A View in the Regent's Park* and *A View on the Thames* in their paper-doll book, *The History of Little Fanny*, in 1830.[124] As the works are listed alongside other products that would clearly be of interest for readers of juvenile literature, it is reasonable to deduce that the paper peepshows would similarly be intended for children. Moreover, the existence of another copy of *A View in the Regent's Park*, which has a different slipcase from the original one, can be an indication that the publisher's intention had reached users too (Fig. 1.13).[125] This alternative slipcase bears a print that depicts a group of children and a dog playing in an attic or a stable, framed by a gilded embossed border. The high waist dresses worn by some of the girls bear similarities to Regency style clothing, while the embossed border is also typically seen in printed materials produced in the early nineteenth century. It is thus possible that the slipcase was made by someone from the same period, which can suggest that some users of paper peepshows considered this medium to be suitable for children too. Thomas McLean also included his stock under the series 'amusing presents for young persons' in his sales catalogue published in 1828.[126] In addition to advertisements, on a Thames Tunnel paper peepshow, the

[123] Apart from the scholarship discussed in the Introduction that holds this view, see also Bak, 'The Ludic Archive,' 10.
[124] Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 176. See Reid-Walsh, *Interactive Books*, 133-155, for details about the Fullers' production of children's movable books.
[125] *The Areaorama, a View in the Regent's Park*, published by S. & J. Fuller, 1825, P5389712, London Metropolitan Archives, London.
[126] McLean, *Sporting and Miscellaneous Works*, 2.

inscription 'Given to A.B. Tebbs Febr. 10th 1884 at age 6 by Grandmar [sic] Ridley' indicates a child owner too, although this work dates to the end of the nineteenth century, the period when the position and function of the paper peepshow had already been changed dramatically, as indicated in the Introduction.[127]

The previously discussed two front-face images also suggest that children were the primary users of paper peepshows (Fig. 0.3 and Fig. 0.4). In Fig. 0.3, two girls were playing with one work in the company of two women. In Fig. 0.4, a child interacting with a paper peepshow is watched by the mother figure holding a baby, while the man (presumably the father) sits in the other side of the room, gesturing a boy to join the group. Admittedly, these depictions do not relate to English paper peepshows directly as they were produced in Germany and were intended to depict scenes in Paris and Hamburg, respectively. Nonetheless, as previously discussed, the similarities shared between these regions and England in their visual culture mean that the demographical characteristics of German or French users can also be of value for the analysis of English owners of paper peepshows.

However, pictorial representations should not be taken as neutral documentation. As Richard Balzer observes, images of the audience of the eighteenth-century peepshow box also predominantly depict children. Nevertheless, he argues that they were the likely result of an artistic device to create the association of innocence and wonderment with the peepshow box, rather than a reflection of facts.[128] Erkki Huhtamo notes that apart from children, women are also included as the peepshow box viewers, and voices a similar caution against taking visual representations at their face value. However, he argues that instead of being a way to brand the attractiveness of the peepshow box, such depiction conveys the impression of this device as being 'a feminine, or even an "infantile" medium, harmless enough to entertain women and children, but not challenging enough for men.'[129] Balzer and Huhtamo's insight can be brought in for analysing the two paper peepshow front-face images. Given the fact that the two views were designed by producers of these works, it is unlikely that they were intended to present the paper peepshow as not good

[127] *The Thames Tunnel* [d], Anonymous, hand-colour lithograph, c1865, TA820. L8T366 1843c mini, Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology, Smithsonian Libraries, Washington, D. C.
[128] Balzer, *Peepshows*, 42. There is yet another type of representation of the peepshow box, mostly satirical in nature, that portrays men peeping into the box while being ignorant of things happening at their back. For detailed discussions, see Huhtamo, 'The Pleasures of the Peephole,' 104-106; Nead, *The Haunted Gallery*, 182-183.
[129] Huhtamo, 'The Pleasures of the Peephole,' 102.

enough for grown men. Instead, evoking this medium's association with innocent pleasure through the depiction of children could be a possible goal.

Moreover, evidence also exists that indicates the consumption of paper peepshows by adults of both sexes. For instance, the inscription on one Thames Tunnel work suggests it was previously owned by a certain 'Mrs Webster Gordon,' in 1854.[130] Another copy of the same work bears the name of 'Mrs Richard Beamish,' wife of the then resident engineer of the Tunnel.[131] There is also evidence of paper peepshows used by men. In a letter from a certain 'Dr. J. B. …r' to the German newspaper *Allgemeine Zeitung von und für Bayern* [General Newspaper from and for Bavaria] in 1835, this doctor wrote about his disappointment that he could not attend the opening ceremony of the railway between Nuremberg and Fürth. He then promised that he would peep into a paper peepshow representing the railway as a substitutive experience.[132] Another indication of the consumption of paper peepshows by adults can be found in one Thames Tunnel work published around 1825, where the maker writes: 'It is hoped that this humble attempt at a representation of this great and most novel undertaking will be kindly received and encouraged by the public.'[133] The use of the phrase 'humble attempt,' as well as the fact that 'the public' is used to address the target users instead of such terms as 'youth' or 'young persons,' as in the case of advertisements by McLean, would suggest that the publisher had intended for the work to be used by adults too, if not exclusively so.

Examination of different historical sources thus leads to the conclusion that users of English paper peepshows between 1825 and the early 1850s included various groups of people instead of a single category. It can be argued that both adults and children were attracted to this medium, which would be conceivable during the first half of the nineteenth century in England. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, society's attitude towards children gradually changed from regarding them as miniature adults to considering childhood as a distinct stage of life, and an increasingly broad range of entertainments designed explicitly for children became available as a result.[134] Nonetheless, in the 1820s, when the paper peepshow first

[130] *Thames Tunnel* [c], Anonymous, hand-colour aquatint and steel engraving, c1835, Oversize 2007-0169Q, Cotsen Children's Library, Princeton University Library, Princeton, N.J.
[131] This copy is at the V&A, reference number Gestetner 230. See Appendix III for details.
[132] Hyde, *Paper Peepshow*, 39.
[133] *The Tunnel* [b], Silvester & Co. Sc., 1825.
[134] For detailed discussions on this shift, see for example Plumb, 'The New World of Children,' in *The Birth of a Consumer Society* (see note 65), 286-312; Michals, 'Experimenting Before Breakfast,' 29-42.

appeared in England, the category of the child, as it would be understood later, was still in its forming stage. It would thus be imaginable that even when publishers such as S. & J. Fuller and McLean targeted their works at children, these objects could attract the attention of users of different ages, just like many other similar visual entertainments.[135] This would be particularly true for the paper peepshow as a new medium. John Plumb observes that in the early nineteenth century, novel commodities would provide excitement for both adults and children, as they experienced together the joy of interacting with objects they never encountered before.[136] Moreover, presenting the paper peepshow initially as something for children could also be a marketing strategy to generate more attention, considering the formative role of children in affecting market demands, as discussed above. This positioning thus does not necessarily reflect the range of consumers that this medium could appeal to. It can be argued, therefore, that although developed by some of its earliest publishers as intended for children or young people, paper peepshows very soon also became adults' entertainment for at least the first three decades after its debut, before the association of this medium with children grew stronger again in the second half of the nineteenth century. Based on this conclusion, it is thus possible in this thesis to discuss the appeal and consumption of the paper peepshow with reference to issues and themes that were not exclusively relevant to nineteenth-century children or adults, but concerned users of all age groups.

Homemade Paper Peepshows

While archival sources about the production of homemade paper peepshows are even scarcer in comparison to those about published works, this group of amateur-made works do offer opportunities for an investigation of important issues about the position of this medium in print culture. Homemade works already appeared before the publication of commercial ones and continued to be produced afterwards. This is hardly surprising since the paper peepshow is made of readily available material and does not have a complicated structure. It would have been easy for amateur makers to produce their copies themselves for their entertainment, either with their own design, copying published works, or using construction kits. Apart from a few names that

[135] For example, the myriorama, although advertised as an entertainment for young people, was considered to be suitable for both old and young in contemporary reviews. For details, see Hyde, 'Myrioramas, Endless Landscapes,' 406. In *Paper Peepshow*, 10, Hyde also notes that one of the customers of the Austrian/German paper peepshow, *Teleorama, Ein Geschenk für die Jungend* [Teleorama, A Present for the Young], commented that adults would also enjoy this object.
[136] Plumb, 'The Acceptance of Modernity,' 332.

appear on some of the works, there is hardly any evidence on who the makers were. It is likely that they belonged to the same social stratum as those who bought the paper peepshow, as they would need to be able to afford the leisure time required to produce the work. As my experience of making a basic paper peepshow with just two panels and a simple, pre-drawn design indicates, preparing cut-out panels can be a very time-consuming work. This speculation of the social status of amateur makers can be further evidenced by the fact that some of the homemade works have bellows made of the luxury fabric, muslin, instead of paper, and that one work was made using the high-quality Bristol board.[137] It seems that the interest in making paper peepshows was particularly intense in Britain. The number of British works is twenty, eighty per cent of which were made before 1840, whereas no more than two nineteenth-century homemade works have been identified in any other countries. [138] However, there is only scant evidence to suggest that such interest was necessarily present in England in the period discussed in this thesis. A few homemade works are identified to be made in England, and the paper used in two works, *Thames Tunnel* [a] and [*A Ball*] came from Stoke Mill in Surrey or the shop of James Lawrence and John Turnball in London, respectively, which can suggest that their makers also resided in England.[139] A more concrete piece of evidence is the construction sheet for making a Thames Tunnel paper peepshow published in 1843 in London (Fig. 1.14).[140] The fact that it appeared much earlier than construction kits in other countries and regions can also be an indication that there was probably a market for homemade paper peepshows in England.[141] Nevertheless, one should be careful of putting too much significance on this work. Published in 1843, when the paper peepshow was already in decline and undergoing significant changes as a medium in England, and after the production of

[137] See Alice Barnaby, 'Dresses and Drapery: Female Self-Fashioning in Muslin, 1800-1850,' in *Crafting the Woman Professional in the Long Nineteenth Century* (see note 19), 89, for more information on muslin. The practice of using muslin to make bellow is, however, not common. Only two works have been identified so far: *Wonders of Cheltenham*, Anonymous, watercolour drawing and muslin, c1828, Gestetner 210; [*A Ball*], Anonymous, hand-coloured lithograph and muslin, c1830, Gestetner 219. Both at the V&A. The work with Bristol board is [*Workhouse Scene*], Anonymous, wood engraving and watercolour drawing, c1830, Gestetner 223, the V&A. See Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 192 for details of the paper used.

[138] See Appendix III for a complete list of all the nineteenth-century British homemade paper peepshows.

[139] *Thames Tunnel* [a], Anonymous, pen and ink and watercolour, c1830, Gestetner 217, the V&A; [*A Ball*], Anonymous, c1830. See Appendix III for details of the paper used. See Jacob Simon, 'James Lawrance Turnbull & John Turnbull,' March 2019, accessed 16 August 2020, https://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-suppliers/t for details of the business of the Turnballs.

[140] The made-up version of this construction sheet can be found at the V&A, [*Thames Tunnel*] [a], printed for and published by G. Purkis, hand-coloured wood engraving, c1843, Gestetner 239.

[141] In France and the Netherlands, construction kit for paper peepshows only appeared in the 1860s. See Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 58-62 for more details.

most of the amateur-made work, this construction sheet may thus only offer limited insight into the situation of homemade paper peepshows made before it, in the 1820s and 1830s.

Even when it cannot be proven with certainty that all the British homemade paper peepshows were produced in England, it is true that many of them have design that copy works published in England or depict a scene from this region, making the majority of these amateur-made paper peepshows relevant to the discussion of this thesis. Examining the homemade Thames Tunnel works, Hyde speculates that they might have been produced as a result of retailers wishing to save production cost, as copying panels might be cheaper than printing them.[142] However, his argument is not based on any archival evidence. Since the advancement of printing technology had already enabled prints to be cheaply produced, it appears more likely that these homemade works were the result of amateur makers imitating published products that they found particularly appealing.

Works that were not made from construction kits could be categorized into two groups depending on the primary method used in their production. Some makers drew the panels themselves using watercolour, while others sourced the content of their works primarily from print clippings. While the production of homemade paper peepshows as a general practice is certainly worth investigating, the lack of information about the condition of their production as well as the significant disparity between them means that a nuanced analysis will be very difficult. It is thus more fruitful to look at specific works in their immediate context instead. Since the majority of the watercolour works are copied after published paper peepshows or associated with a subject matter discussed in the case studies, they will be analysed in detail in the subsequent chapters. The focus of this section is the production of amateur works using print clippings. All but two of them have some connection to England. One work depicts the Thames on Lord Mayor's Day. The two previously discussed works made from clippings, depicting the Burlington Arcade and miscellaneous scenes, were both produced in England, while as aforementioned, [*A Ball*] is likely to be a work by an English maker too.[143] The production of this type of homemade works would have fitted well with the aforementioned interest in manipulating printed materials among the middle classes in early nineteenth-century England. One manifestation of this interest is the cutting and pasting of prints, two prominent examples of which are

[142] Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 28.
[143] See Appendix III for details.

extra-illustration and scrap album making.[144] As a process 'whereby texts, normally in their published state, were customised by the incorporation of thematically linked prints, watercolours, and other visual materials,' extra-illustration had already developed into proper shape within an exclusive circle of genteel amateurs in the 1770s and 1780s.[145] However, it was during the early decades of the nineteenth century, under the influence of consumer culture, that it was further promoted to a wider audience through book- and print-sellers, and it maintained its popularity and appeal until the 1840s.[146] The first phase of the development of scrap album making spanned the first half of the nineteenth century. Initially, scraps were sold in sheets and were envisaged not just to be cut and pasted in albums, but also as decorations for household goods or even the house itself.[147] Soon the commercial potential of scraps was noticed by publishers and starting from the middle of the nineteenth century, they became an important part of the popular print industry and were produced as brightly coloured lithographs in cutouts, aimed specifically to be used for scrap albums.[148]

Making extra-illustrated books or scrap albums provided the middle classes with a means of entertainment that befitted their social and cultural status. The promotion of extra-illustration and scrap album making by publishers and/or print-sellers is the manifestation of how quickly cultural practices like these were commercially appropriated. Extra-illustration was traditionally and primarily an activity associated with men, and the production of such material artefacts as the extra-illustrated book functioned as a testimony to the leisure time well-spent in a polite manner and a means to enhance 'the study of chronology and history.'[149] Nonetheless, the practicalities of making extra-illustration—the cutting and pasting of prints, were usually done by women and were promoted as a 'both entertaining and educational' activity associated with feminine leisure in the early nineteenth century.[150] This

[144] In The Multigraph Collective, *Interacting with Print*, 232-241, other forms of cutting and pasting prints, along with these two examples, are also briefly discussed.
[145] Lucy Peltz, *Facing the Text: Extra-Illustration, Print Culture, and Society in Britain, 1769-1840* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, 2017), 1-5.
[146] Ibid., 5-6.
[147] Maidment, 'Scraps and Sketches,' 5.
[148] Maurice Rickards, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera: A Guide to the Fragmentary Documents of Everyday Life for the Collector, Curator and Historian*, ed. and completed by Michael Twyman (London: British Library, 2000), 284-5. The development of photography transformed scrap album making again. For a detailed discussion, see for example Di Bello, *Women's Albums and Photography in Victorian England*.
[149] Peltz, *Facing the Text*, 149; Lucy Peltz, 'The Extra-Illustration of London: Leisure, Sociability and the Antiquarian City in the Late Eighteenth Century' (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 1999), 496.
[150] Peltz, 'The Extra-Illustration of London,' 500. See also page 496-502 in the same volume for a detailed discussion of the role of women in the production of extra-illustration.

construction links the kind of patience and manual skills required for making extra-illustration with the similar competence and virtuosity needed for the making of the so-called ladies work, of which the quintessential example is needlework.[151] As the name indicates, ladies work describes craftwork by women, the making of which was regarded as appropriate for nineteenth-century middle-class ladies as a form of showcasing their aesthetic taste and artistry.[152] Such knowledge and skills constituted an important part of women's accomplishments, a concept that functioned as an important agent in the construction of upper- or middle-class femininity as it prescribed what a woman was expected to master in this period.[153] If producing extra-illustration only partly concerned middle-class women, scrap album making was an activity generally associated with them and was considered as a type of ladies work proper, since it enabled its 'drawing-room practitioner [to] produce effects of apparent creativity and artistic merit' with just scissors and paste.[154]

It thus appears that the cutting and pasting of prints was more relevant to middle-class women. The same group of people who helped with making extra-illustration or produced scrap albums were possibly also inspired to make paper peepshows by recycling print clippings. This argument is, however, difficult to prove with certainty because of the extremly scarce information that can be gained from paper peepshows made in this way. Judging from the surviving homemade works, making amateur paper peepshows probably never became a practice that enjoyed a scale comparable to that of extra-illustration or scrap album making. Perhaps because of this, there did not appear to be much commercial exploitation of the interest in homemade paper peepshows either.

The work [*A Ball*] might be an exception as it is highly likely to be the result of a construction kit.[155] Moreover, some of its features can indicate an association

[151] Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, 146.
[152] Transparency print, mentioned above, was also a kind of ladies work. For a discussion about how the concept of ladies work contributed to moulding female artistic expression into the frame set by patriarchal society, rendering feminine creativity as mere amateurish in contrast to the masculine high art, see Bermingham, *Learning to Draw*, 145-164. Here Bermingham also highlights the role played by publishers in this process of associating femininity with amateurism as their wares allowed ladies work to be created with little effort and time. But some scholars argue that ladies work could, and sometimes did, provide an alternative space for female creativity and aesthetics. See for example Constance Classen, 'Feminine Tactics: Crafting an Alternative Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,' in *The Book of Touch*, ed. Constance Classen (Oxford; New York, N.Y.: Berg, 2005), 228-239 and Plunkett, 'Light Work,' 41-67.
[153] For a detailed discussion (especially in relation to drawing and painting) of women's accomplishments, see Bermingham, *Learning to* Draw, 183-227.
[154] Rickards, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera*, 286; Brian Maidment, *Comedy, Caricature and the Social Order, 1820-1850* (Manchester; New York, N.Y.: Manchester University Press, 2013), 76-78.
[155] [*A Ball*], Anonymous, c1830.

between homemade paper peepshows made from print clippings and women's accomplishments. Apart from its front-face, which is a printed image, all the cut-out panels and back-scene consist entirely of print clippings. The amateurishly sewed panels and muslin bellows, the varying size of the frames of the panels, as well as the crude way in which the cloth was cut, all indicate that this is a homemade work, which should, in theory, be unique in its design (Fig. 1.15 and Fig. 1.16).[156] However, there exists another work, [*A Formal Ball*], that bears striking similarities to it (Fig. 1.17).[157] Its front-face has a different design, but its cut-out panels have all but one of the print clippings that appear in [*A Ball*] (with different colouring and placement), and its back-scene looks almost identical to that of [*A Ball*] (Fig. 1.18 to Fig. 1.21). Both works have cloth bellows (the fabric used in the two works differs from each other), more or less the same size, and the same number of panels, and the style of the frame of the cut-out panels also look very similar. It would be too much of a coincidence that two amateur makers happened to choose the same set of print clippings to make their respective paper peepshows. Instead, it is much more likely that both works were made based on the same construction kit, which allowed its users to employ their creativity in designing the front-face.[158] Several aspects of these two works can indicate that the construction kit, if ever existed, was probably marketed at female consumers as a kind of ladies work. The scene represented, a ball, was an important occasion for nineteenth-century debutantes to exhibit her mastery of women's accomplishments.[159] Moreover, the cutting and pasting of the miniature clippings and their arrangement into a coherent scene would require the kind of aesthetic taste and manual skills analogous to those needed in the making of other ladies work.[160] The fact that the [*A Ball*] bears the inscription 'Mary Anderson from dear Aunt Robert' and that its bellows are made from muslin, the material closely associated with

[156] The clipping in Fig. 1.15 on the left is a part of the work that had fallen out at some point but kept together with the work in the box made by its twenty-first century collector.
[157] [*A Formal Ball*], Anonymous, c1815.
[158] Although the figures on the cut-out panels in these two works do not look exactly the same, it might have resulted from some clippings became detached from the panels. As shown in Fig. 1.15, [*A Ball*] comes with a separate print clipping in the box, while the content from the first panel of [*A Formal Ball*] has been torn off.
[159] Molly Engelhardt, *Dancing out of Line: Ballrooms, Ballets, and Morality in Victorian Fiction and Culture* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, c2009), 52-53.
[160] Again, I refer here to my own experience of making a paper peepshow, which demonstrates that this is an operation that demands patience, manual skills, and aesthetic knowledge of how to arrange cut-out panels in order for the peep-view to appear coherent and appealing. See also Cornfield, 'The Lesson in the Object,' 7, for a similar observation.

needlework by well-to-do women, suggest that the publisher's intention was also acknowledged by some users (Fig. 1.22).[161]

It is thus tempting to conclude that these two works constitute instances that demonstrate how consumers' interest in having a more creative means of interacting with paper peepshows was commodified. More specifically, they can exemplify how the discourse of women's accomplishments was commercialised, just like the production of scraps. Unfortunately, no reference to such a kit can be identified in archival sources, neither in women's magazines and manuals for women nor general newspapers and periodicals. The fact that the two works are dated to different periods by their respective archives also makes a more in-depth analysis of them difficult. Despite their similar appearance, [*A Ball*] is dated to the 1830s, whereas [*A Formal Ball*] is considered to be made fifteen years earlier.[162] The later date would fit better with the above hypothesis that these two works are the result of publishers commodifying customers' interest in making paper peepshows. If, however, these works were produced around 1815, they might have occupied the position on the market as a new kind of fancy work, which could have inspired the emergence of the paper peepshow. If they were indeed proto-paper peepshows, this would also explain why the physical appearance of these two works departs slightly from the conventional paper peepshow structure: the panels are not images with a hollowed-out centre but have figures spread out along the base as if in a toy theatre. In any case, the lack of evidence means that the examination of these two works needs to remain speculative. Nonetheless, the discussion of homemade paper peepshows in this section does highlight the existence of a wide range of works on different topics and made with various methods, which underscores the role played by the paper peepshow as a form of printed material, especially its part in the early-nineteenth-century English visual culture that encouraged active manipulation with print.

Consuming the Paper Peepshow

In defining the position and meanings of the paper peepshow, in addition to its emergence, production, and circulation, its consumption is also a major issue worth investigating. An essential part of my examination of this aspect centres around a question: where does the sense of wonder and delight of using this object come from? Unlike the so-called philosophical toys, paper peepshows do not have a structure that

[161] See Barnaby, 'Dresses and Drapery,' 91-96, for a detailed discussion of the connotation of muslin in needlework by women.
[162] Neither of the two collections provides reasons for the dating of the works.

can engage users with optical illusions demonstrated through a seemingly magical mechanism. Nor would their cut-out panels, which usually contain a rough and stylised depiction of figures, cater to the early nineteenth-century interest in lifelike realism in visual entertainments, satisfied otherwise by the likes of panoramas and wax shows.[163] Even in some of the works with the most detailed and refined level of execution, the panels appear far from being realistic, as can be seen from the stiff posture of figures and the block application of colours without any tonal variation (Fig. 1.23). Nonetheless, publishers still marketed their works as amusing items, and it appears that their users, such as the German doctor mentioned above, would still find joy as they plunged into the world behind the peep-hole. To understand the apparent pleasure brought by paper peepshows, as well as other features of their consumption, it is necessary to first have an overview of the key aspects of sensory experience involved in consuming this medium, which is the aim of this section. The issues discussed here set out the parameters for the in-depth investigation of the experience of using paper peepshows, which is one of the main concerns of the four case studies. Although all the elements examined here are relevant to the consumption of this medium, they could carry different significance as the depicted scenes change, as will become clear in the subsequent chapters.

The visual is a prominent aspect in the use of paper peepshows, while other issues such as the tactile, the miniature size, and the environment in which this medium was used also constitute important parts of the experience. In *Techniques of the Observer*, Jonathan Crary argues that in the 1820s and 1830s, a shift from the classical mode of vision to a modern one took place, which enabled the appearance of a new kind of observer.[164] According to him, the classical mode of vision can be

[163] For detailed discussions on early nineteenth-century interest in realism and in particular its association with popular visual entertainments, see for example Gillen D'Arcy Wood, *The Shock of the Real: Romanticism and Visual Culture, 1760-1869* (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave, 2001); Crary, 'Géricault,' 11.

[164] Although there has been substantial critiques and discussions of Crary's arguments, the scope and nature of this thesis does not allow for a detailed review of the scholarly debates. Main issues raised by scholars include: Crary bases his over-generalised argument on a highly theoretical background and shows no interest in the specific constitution of the observer; he does not demonstrate how scientific discourses were disseminated within the wider society; and he neglects issues such as the contemporaries' reaction to changes in modes of vision and the conflicts between these ways of looking, among others. See for example Anna Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1993), 32-33 and W. J. T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation* (Chicago, Ill.; London: University of Chicago Press, c1994), 22-24; David Phillips, 'Modern Vision,' *Oxford Art Journal* 16, no. 1 (1993): 132-133 and Laura Burd Schiavo, 'From Phantom Image to Perfect Vision: Physiological Optics, Commercial Photography, and the Popularization of the Stereoscope,' in *New Media, 1740-1915*, eds. Lisa Gitelman and Geoffrey B. Pingree (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2003), 113-138; Mary Ann Doane, *The Emergence of Cinematic Time: Modernity, Contingency, the Archive* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard

characterised by fixity and clarity. The subjective self of the observer remains distinct from the outside world that s/he perceives, which is objective and stable; in other words, vision in this mode is decorporealized.[165] In the early nineteenth century, contends Crary, the modern and embodied vision that newly emerged started to challenge the classical mode radically. Tracing a science of vision that shifted its focus onto the physiological makeup of the human eye, he argues that an increasing amount of attention was drawn to the unstable nature of the human body, which proved to be 'defective, inconsistent, [and] prey to illusion.'[166] As vision depends on such physiology, it cannot be objective and stable, but is subjective and embodied.

For Crary, the various kinds of visual and optical entertainments that emerged in the nineteenth century demonstrated and helped reinforce the new concept of the corporealized vision as the visual illusions and trickeries they conjured up highlighted the unstable and unreliable nature of the visual experience. However, the paper peepshow is an optical toy that puts the validity of this argument in question and makes clear that in his sweeping conceptualization of different modes of vision, Crary does not pay enough attention to the fact that instead of having a clean rupture between them, multiple patterns of looking are 'overlapping, intersecting, and contrasting' with each other.[167] The classical and modern mode of vision co-exist in the paper peepshow. Free of any connection with nineteenth-century scientific discoveries of the eye, this object has a structure that is based on monocular vision. The effect of three-dimensionality is achieved by layering cut-out panels one behind the other to physically create the depth. Even the use of linear perspective is not always prominent. Usually, the cut-out panels only depict the figures or scenery diminishing in size according to the placement of the panels to evoke the impression of distance, while techniques such as the use of orthogonal lines are not a consistent feature.

At the same time, however, the experience of using the paper peepshow is unmistakably embodied. Unlike in the case of devices such as the stereoscope or the

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University Press, 2002), 80-81 and Isobel Armstrong, 'The Microscope: Mediations of the Sub-Visible World,' in *Transactions and Encounters: Science and Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Roger Luckhurst and Josephine McDonagh (Manchester; New York, N.Y.: Manchester University Press, 2002), 34-35, for discussions relevant to the these three aspects of critiques.

[165] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 39-41; 70.

[166] Ibid., 92, emphasis original.

[167] Tiffany Watt Smith, *On Flinching: Theatricality and Scientific Looking from Darwin to Shell Shock* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 32. For detailed discussions about the continuity of the classical mode in the nineteenth century and the emergence of modern vision before Crary's proposed timeline, see for example John Plunkett, '"Feeling Seeing": Touch, Vision and the Stereoscope,' *History of Photography* 37, no. 4 (November 2013): 389-396 and Bantjes, 'Hybrid Projection,' 912-939.

thaumatrope, *what* we see through the peep-hole is always based on a stable, physical referent instead being the result of optical effects. Yet *how* these scenes look like depends closely and only on the individual peering behind the front-face. The three-dimensional effect of the peep-view is contingent on in which angle each user looks into the peep-hole and where s/he places the focus of vision, and is thus subjective and embodied.

The corporealized experience of using the paper peepshow is also a result of the tactile element involved in its consumption, which is to be expected given the connection between this medium and the nineteenth-century interest in manipulating prints. Increasingly, scholars have started to pay attention to the way that the nineteenth-century experience of looking 'is never just visual, but . . . also tactile, kinaesthetic, fully embodied, and affected by the material properties of the objects [people did their] looking and reading with.'[168] The relevance of the touch is manifested in three aspects in one's interaction with paper peepshows. Firstly, as previously discussed, because of the structure of this medium, depth experienced through it is known not only to the eye but also through the touch. This can result in a prominent presence of the medium and mediation of the paper peepshow alongside the scenes represented. Secondly, the haptic experience of using this object draws attention to the important role played by users' hands. Although it cannot be verified with absolute certainty, the structure of paper peepshows would suggest two ways of expanding the bellows for nineteenth-century users, vertically and horizontally, which are portrayed in the front-face images Fig. 0.3 and Fig. 0.4. While the picture shows that when placed horizontally on the table, a paper peepshow can stand on its own, my experience in archives suggests otherwise, since the majority of the time, the panels are simply too unstable to stay erect. Users would thus need to keep holding the front-face and the back-board constantly, and the movement of their hands could affect the arrangement of and distance between panels, influencing the peep-view directly. Lastly, tactility can also be analysed in the framework of material culture studies. As stressed in the Introduction, the material and materiality of the research object should constitute an essential part of our analysis, and touch is the element that connects the material of the paper peepshow and its users. As will become clear in the case study chapters, these three aspects of the touch in the consumption of this object

[168] Luisa Calè and Patrizia Di Bello, Introduction to *Illustrations, Optics and Objects in Nineteenth-Century Literary and Visual Cultures*, eds. Luisa Calè and Patrizia di Bello (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, c2010), 5.

would work together with the view through the peep-hole in influencing nineteenth-century users' interpretation of what is depicted on cut-out panels.

Another concept in material culture studies also proves relevant here, which is the idea of affordances, first initiated by the cognitive/perceptual psychologist James Gibson. He uses the term affordances to refer to the action possibilities conceived by humans or animals based on the inherent physical properties of objects or an environment.[169] These features are independent of humans or animals but are nevertheless closely related to the individual's abilities to engage with them.[170] Gibson's theory is useful because while it acknowledges the inherent properties of objects, which are indicative of certain actions, it also emphasises the active role played by the person engaging with these things. Some features might not yield obvious action possibilities, but one can assume the position to interpret the affordances and the related actions individually. Bringing this concept to the analysis of users' engagement with paper peepshows proves useful. While the layered structure suggests that we should expand the bellows fully and see the images through the peep-hole, this is only the most obvious level of interaction. When I handled paper peepshows, I noticed, for example, that when the object was expanded, bellows could still be folded selectively to alter the distance between cut-out panels. A different impression of the peep-view could thus be created. The speed with which one lifts the front-face can also be adjusted so that the scenes on the cut-out panels reveal themselves in different ways. With the notion of an active user and the diverse options of manipulating paper peepshows in mind, the subsequent chapters will aim to discuss the potential meanings and functions of this medium more comprehensively.[171]

In analysing the cultural themes that characterize the experience of using the paper peepshow, the concept of 'topos' (plural topoi), proposed by Huhtamo as one approach of media archaeology, is brought in. Huhtamo appropriates the idea of topos developed by the German literary scholar Ernst Robert Curtius and applies it to the study of media culture. Instead of focusing on the new, the topos approach is more

[169] James J. Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (Hillsdale, N. J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1986), 127-137.
[170] Ibid., 127.
[171] The importance of realizing the versatile potential of visual and optical entertainments, as well as the active role played by their observers/users, has been noted by many scholars of nineteenth-century visual culture. See for example Isobel Armstrong, *Victorian Glassworlds: Glass Culture and the Imagination 1830-1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 256-257; Helen Groth, 'Kaleidoscopic Vision in Late Victorian Bohemia: George Sim's Social Kaleidoscope,' in *Media, Technology and Literature in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Colette Colligan and Margaret Linley (Farnham: Ashgate, c2011), 93; Gunning, 'Hand and Eye,' 495-515; and Dulac and Gaudreault, 'Circularity and Repetition,' 227-244; Strauven, 'The Observer's Dilemma,' 148-163.

interested in 'the clichéd, the commonplace,' identifying the means through which 'media culture relies on the already known.'[172] Such 'already known' are topoi. They are where old cultural desires are embedded and can be expressed through newly emerged media, while at the same time moulding the meanings of these media.[173]

In this thesis, I do not intend to analyse the evolution of any of the topoi related to the paper peepshow. Nonetheless, acknowledging that certain features of the experience of using it belong to topoi of nineteenth-century visual culture is important. This highlights the interaction the paper peepshow had with other visual and optical entertainments. The act of peeping through the hole located in a box-shape structure is such a topos. Whereas peeping is sometimes considered as being part of human nature, whether stemming from our curiosity towards the outside or the animal instinct of survival, for Huhtamo, it is a culturally determined construct.[174] Tracing media objects that date back to the Renaissance, he identifies a series of devices and entertainments that employ the topos of peeping, ranging from the camera obscura, the eighteenth-century peepshow box, to the stereoscope. Although 'paper peepshow' is not a term used in the nineteenth century, it would appear that many publishers nonetheless realized the central position the act of peeping occupied in the consumption of their products, as they coined titles such as *Theatrorama, or A Peep at the Playhouse*, *A Peep at the Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre*, *A Peep at the Fox Chace* [*sic*], and *A Peep at the Pier at Brighton*.[175] When used in combination with works of a diverse range of content and design, different socio-cultural associations with the word 'peep' come to the fore, which will be discussed in the next two chapters.

Another topos commonly found in nineteenth-century visual and optical entertainments that render a flat surface in three-dimensional form is the connotation of the sensation of bodily immersion. Again, the peepshow box is one of the media in which this topos is present, but the panorama, the diorama, and the stereoscope are also examples.[176] While the immersive experience can be found in all these forms of

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[172] Huhtamo and Parikka, 'Introduction,' 14.
[173] Erkki Huhtamo, 'Dismantling the Fairy Engine: Media Archaeology as Topos Study,' in *Media Archaeology* (see note 21 in the Introduction), 28.
[174] Huhtamo, 'The Pleasures of the Peephole,' 76-77.
[175] *Theatrorama, or a Peep at the Playhouse*, Anonymous, hand-coloured aquatint, c1825, Gestetner 205; *A Peep at the Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre*, Anonymous, hand-coloured aquatint, 1829, Gestetner 214. Both at the V&A. *A Peep at the Fox Chace* [*sic*], Anonymous and C. Essex & Co., 1829; *A Peep at the Pier at Brighton*, Anonymous, c1830s, Opie E 67a, Opie Collection of Children's Literature, Bodleian Library, Oxford University Libraries, Oxford.
[176] William Merrin, 'Skylights Onto Infinity . . . : The World in a Stereoscope,' in *Visual Delights Two: Exhibition and Reception*, eds. Vanessa Toulmin and Simon Popple (Eastleigh: John Libbey, c2005), 163; John Plunkett, 'Depth, Colour, Movement: Embodied Vision and the Stereoscope,' in *Multimedia Histories*, eds. James Lyons and John Plunkett (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2007), 117.

recreation, it would be experienced differently due to the discrepancies between these media: some have an enclosed or box shape (peepshow box and stereoscope), while others occupy an open space (panorama and diorama). Very often, this topos is considered in association with the idea of virtual travel. But as analysed below, since the paper peepshow structure is semi-open, the immersive sensation experienced in this medium may demand an interpretation different from the existing meanings attached to this topos.

The last aspect of the experience of using the paper peepshow to be discussed concerns the environment and atmosphere in which it would be consumed. The immersive sensation mentioned above should not be mistaken for a solitary one. During my archival visits, my experiences of handling works in different conditions and with varied thickness of cut-out panels have proved that achieving the intended peep-view is a difficult task for just one person. When a work is expanded by having its front-face lifted, the instability of the panels means that the peep-view is usually subject to a constant movement. Placing it horizontally on a table lends better stability to the view, although as mentioned above, both the front-face and back-board usually need to be held by hands so that the structure does not collapse. Yet the expanded work very often reaches the length between sixty and eighty centimetres, which makes holding a paper peepshow with two hands while looking into the peep-hole a very awkward, if not always impossible, posture to maintain. The structure of this medium, therefore, indicates that in the nineteenth century, collaboration would be rather common in the experience of using it.

The social nature of its consumption is also indicated by the feature of the bourgeois parlour, a typical location where the paper peepshow would be used, as suggested by Fig. 0.4. The parlour in the nineteenth-century middle-class home had very specific functions. It was a room where guests were received, and evening amusements took place, which indicates that this space was an environment for familial or social interaction as opposed to solitary meditation.[177] Both the structure of the paper peepshow and the space where it would be used hence suggest an interesting combination of two contrasting elements in its consumption. Although the user would experience being an isolated individual when looking through the peep-hole, feeling as if immersed in the scene, this sensation would be very brief as it is likely that it occurred in a social environment where family and friends might interrupt

[177] Thad Logan, *The Victorian Parlour* (Cambridge; New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, c2001), 27-31.

her/his experience or look on from the side. As to be discussed in the next chapter, the contrast between the very personal act of focusing one's attention on the panels and the surrounding social context further complicates our understanding of nineteenth-century users' interaction with paper peepshows.

Conclusion

In this chapter, some broad aspects of the paper peepshow are examined so that a few parameters, on which the subsequent chapters will be based, can be set up. Using a media archaeology approach, the quest for the origins of this medium goes into different directions in the English society in the early nineteenth century, including the interest in optical and visual entertainments, the expansion of print culture, and the force of consumer culture. This examination demonstrates the diverse meanings that can be associated with the paper peepshow. This conclusion can also be testified by the investigation of its production and circulation in the early to middle phases of its development. Moving on to the consumption of this medium, the analysis stresses the importance of combining practical handling experience with theoretical arguments, and the sensation of using the paper peepshow is investigated from not only the aspect of the visual but other sensory experiences and the environment of its consumption. In the case study chapters that follow, all of these issues will be further expanded in combination with discussions of the topics depicted.

Chapter Two

Reimagining Theatre in the Paper Peepshow

Apart from being a significant contributing factor to the emergence of the paper peepshow, theatre is also closely connected with this medium by being one of the first subject matters to be depicted. The earliest work about the drama world already appeared on the English market in 1825, depicting both the performance and the auditorium. Despite the early start, it seems that paper peepshows portraying this topic were not received well by the market, since judging from the surviving works, the production of such paper peepshows ceased already around 1830, and only a very small number of works were made. Of course, the fragility of this medium could be a factor that has contributed to the low number of surviving works. However, the fact that products depicting many other themes managed to be preserved in much larger numbers suggests that the initial low production of paper peepshows with theatre-related topics is probably also a reason why so few works have survived. It appears that within just five years, the interest in producing paper peepshows representing both theatrical performances and the auditorium already diminished.

Despite the small numbers of works, it is still crucial to analyse them in detail, not least because by portraying theatrical productions, they are the only ones discussed in-depth in this thesis that use another medium as their subject matter. Thus, analysis of them can add dimensions to our understanding of the interaction between the paper peepshow and other media. The first part of this chapter argues that theatre is important to my analysis not only because it occupied a central role in early nineteenth-century English society, but also since the paper peepshow as a medium makes intermedial references to it. Examination of this connection helps cast light on several key issues concerning the consumption of this object, including the sense of delight and wonder it brings despite its simple structure. Moving on to analyse the works about theatre in detail, this chapter focuses on how they further complicate this intermedial relationship as they represent the theatre-going experience in different ways. The depiction of the auditorium and the stage in these works reinterprets aspects such as the exercise of attention, different modes of vision, and the embodied and active spectatorship. The commercial failure, as it were, of theatre-related paper peepshows, will also be discussed, although without archival evidence, the reasons for this lack of success can only be speculated. Nonetheless, the examination of a

subject matter that does not often appear in the paper peepshow allows important insight into the development of this medium, which complements the analysis in other chapters that concern topics that enjoyed much more popularity for much longer.

This chapter focuses on two published paper peepshows: *Theatrorama, or a Peep at the Playhouse* (hereafter *Theatrorama*), which depicts spectators enjoying an unidentified ballet/theatre performance; and a work that mainly portrays the Indian burletta *The Elephant of Siam and the Fire Fiend!* (hereafter *Elephant of Siam*), *A Peep at the Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre* (hereafter *Adelphi Theatre*).[1] In addition, there is an amateurishly-amended version of *Adelphi Theatre* with the same title.[2] Since this copy has changed so much of the original structure of the published work, many of its features will be discussed separately from the commercial version.[3]

Not included in the discussion here are two paper peepshows portraying the masquerade and Vauxhall Gardens respectively, [*Masquerade*] published by S. & J. Fuller (Fig. 2.1) and *The Vauxhall Juvenile Fete* (Fig. 2.2).[4] The different modes of vision, especially looking and being looked at, played a central role in the experience of these two forms of entertainment, as was the case in the playhouse, as the discussion below will make clear.[5] However, the masquerade was already regarded as a symbol of the past in the 1820s, when the theatre was very much still enjoying its prime time.[6] Although Vauxhall Gardens were still popular in the early nineteenth century, the

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[1] *Theatrorama, or a Peep at the Playhouse*, Anonymous, c1825; *A Peep at the Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre*, Anonymous, c1829. In Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 181, he points out that the performance scene depicted in *Theatrorama* is reminiscent of the print *The Prospect Before Us* (1791) by Thomas Rowlandson.

[2] The work is found under the reference number of Opie E 67, at Opie Collection of Children's Literature, Bodleian Library, Oxford University Libraries, Oxford.

[3] Nonetheless, the two works share many similarities or identical depictions too. Thus, in the discussion below, unless otherwise stated, I will use *Adelphi Theatre* to refer to both works with the same title and consider them as one work when I discuss features shared by both paper peepshows.

[4] [*Masquerade*], T. M. Baynes and S. & J. Fuller, 1826; *The Vauxhall Juvenile Fete*, Anonymous, hand-coloured etching, c1828, Gestetner 206, the V&A. The dating of *The Vauxhall Juvenile Fete* is c1825 in Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 182. Yet since the paper bellows, which appear to be original, have the watermark of 1828, it can be argued that the production date of this work is more likely to be around this year. See Appendix III for details of the watermark. See David Coke and Alan Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens: A History* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2011) 291-302 for information on the introduction of Juvenile Fete to Vauxhall Gardens and how it belonged to the changes to the Vauxhall Gardens programme in the early nineteenth century.

[5] For a discussion of the modes of vision in the masquerade, see for example Terry Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization: The Carnivalesque in Eighteenth-Century English Culture and Fiction* (Stanford, Cali.: Stanford University Press, 1986). For analyses in relation to Vauxhall Gardens, see for example Deborah Epstein Nord, 'Night and Day: Illusion and Carnivalesque at Vauxhall,' in *The Pleasure Garden, from Vauxhall to Coney Island*, ed. Jonathan Conlin (Philadelphia, Penn.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 177-184; Peter De Bolla, 'The Visibility of Visuality: Vauxhall Gardens and the Siting of the Viewer,' in *Vision and Textuality*, eds. Bill Readings and Stephen W. Melville (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), 282-295; Jonathan Conlin, 'Vauxhall Revisited: The Afterlife of a London Pleasure Garden, 1770-1859,' *Journal of British Studies* 45 (October 2006): 718-743.

[6] Castle, *Masquerade and Civilization*, 331-2.

outdoor setting of the pleasure garden would have produced a very different kind of experience from that gained in the architecture of the playhouse.[7] A nuanced examination of works on the masquerade and Vauxhall Gardens thus requires analysis of socio-cultural phenomena that had little to do with theatre, and the limited scope of this chapter means that these two works can only be explored in another context.

Theatre Alongside and in the Paper Peepshow

The importance of theatre in the socio-cultural life of early nineteenth-century England, as well as its entangled relationship with various visual entertainments, can hardly be overstated. Following its emancipation from royal patronage and transformation into a commercial enterprise in the eighteenth century, theatre's rapid development in England, particularly in London, is almost impossible to ignore.[8] The dominant role of this form of entertainment in English social and cultural life can be reflected by the number of new illegitimate theatres popping up across the country and the expansion and renovation of existing playhouses.[9] Additionally, the almost democratic composition of spectators, ranging from royalty to the labouring classes, also demonstrates theatre's universal appeal in the early decades of the nineteenth century.[10]

Yet there has been much discussion about how much of such enthusiasm for theatre in this period in England actually came from the middle classes. Indeed, some scholars have argued that the so-called enjoyment of theatre across social strata only means the growing proportion of the working classes in the playhouse, while the middle classes withdrew from the theatre due to various factors. Their supposed

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[7] In Marvin A. Carlson, *Places of Performance: The Semiotics of Theatre Architecture* (Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University Press, 1989), 2, Carlson argues for a methodology that analyses the audience's experience of the theatre not only by taking into consideration of what is performed on the stage, but also the environmental and architectural factors such as public spaces other than the auditorium in the theatre, the physical appearance of the playhouse and even its location in the city. The volume itself is an excellent example of the application of this methodology.

[8] For more details on the transformation of theatre patronage from royalty to the middle classes and its significance, see John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Harper Collins, 1997), 356.

[9] Rosalind Crone, *Violent Victorians: Popular Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century London* (Manchester; New York, N.Y.: Manchester University Press, 2012), 125-127. See also Grant, *The Great Metropolis*, 26, for a nineteenth-century account. Apart from Drury Lane, Covent Garden, and the Haymarket in summer, which were the legitimate or patent theatres, all playhouses in England in the early nineteenth century were known as illegitimate theatre. Charles II's royal patent in 1662 made the three legitimate playhouses the only venue where spoken drama (tragedy and comedy, known as legitimate drama) were legally permitted to be performed. Other drama genres were known as illegitimate drama and could be shown in both types of playhouses. Katherine Newey, 'The 1832 Select Committee,' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theatre, 1737-1832*, eds. Julia Swindells and David Francis Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 141.

[10] Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London*, (New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 4.

discomfort with rubbing shoulders with the labouring classes, their critique of the presumed vulgar taste of theatrical productions, which increasingly placed priority on the spectacular stage instead of the quality of the performance, and suspicion of the moral ambiguity inherent in the drama world, are all considered to be factors that kept them away from the playhouse, only to return starting around the 1850s.[11] However, scholars have increasingly started to question this neat narrative of the perception of the English middle classes of theatre, even though anti-theatre sentiments can indeed be detected among this segment of society in the nineteenth century. For instance, historian Marc Baer cautions that while there were occasions when the upper and middle classes left the theatre for other entertainments, we should consider practical factors that contributed to their decisions instead of only explaining the phenomenon by arguing that the playhouse had become distasteful for the cultural elites.[12] Moreover, theatre scholar Jane Moody refers to comments by the drama critic William Hazlitt and argues that although issues such as respectability and taste in theatrical productions did concern the middle classes, they nonetheless took much delight in performances in both patent and illegitimate theatres.[13] These arguments can also be testified by observations from the nineteenth century, which indicate that the enthusiasm of the middle classes for theatre did not suffer much.[14] It would thus be more historically accurate to argue that despite being not always content with the development in the playhouse, the middle classes still very much enjoyed theatre as

[11] For typical examples of this narrative of the development of the relationship between English middle classes and theatre in the nineteenth century, see Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution: c. 1780 – c. 1880* (New York, N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 28-30; Altick, *The Shows of London*, 184-185. For working classes' increasing presence in the playhouse, see for example Marc Baer, *Theatre and Disorder in Late Georgian London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 43. See Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London*, 4; David Worrall, *Theatric Revolution: Drama, Censorship and Romantic Period Subcultures, 1773 – 1832* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 224 for more discussions about concerns over the mixing of social classes in the theatre. For the nineteenth-century middle classes' discontent with the low taste of the illegitimate drama, see Crone, *Violent Victorians*, 127. For their critique against the illusionary nature of theatre, see Tracy C. Davis and Thomas Postlewait, 'Theatricality: An Introduction,' in *Theatricality*, eds. Tracy C. Davis and Thomas Postlewait (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 4. It needs to be noted that anti-theatre sentiments were not new in the nineteenth century. See Jonas A. Barish's *The Antitheatrical Prejudice* (Berkeley, Cali.; London: University of California Press, c1981) for a comprehensive account that traces the prejudice against theatre since antiquity.

[12] Baer, *Theatre and Disorder in Late Georgian London*, 49.

[13] Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London*, 7-8. See also Patricia Smyth, 'Theatre, Art and Visual Culture in the Nineteenth Century,' *Nineteenth Century Theatre & Film* 39, no. 1 (Summer 2012): xvii-xxv, for a more recent discussion on alternative approaches in scholarship, which challenges the argument that claims that taste and morality of theatre prevented the middle classes from enjoying performances in the playhouse.

[14] For example, although in *The Great Metropolis*, 56-57, Grant makes clear that he finds the trend that prioritised spectacles distasteful, in the same volume 24-27, he nonetheless notes the great extent to which people of all classes would go to enjoy theatrical performances, and how in London people from all social strata were enthusiastic about talking about this form of entertainment.

an important part of their leisure life in the early nineteenth century. This conclusion would also confirm the relevance of the drama world as a subject matter to the paper peepshow.

Apart from being an essential part of the cultural life of the middle classes, theatrical performances and the experience of the playhouse also occupied a prominent place in the visual culture of England in the early 1800s. As will be discussed in detail in the next section, the experience of spectatorship in the auditorium also influenced the ways of looking outside of the playhouse and very much became a symbol of certain modes of vision of this period.[15] More importantly, many aspects of the aesthetic of theatre were interwoven with other visual entertainments and media. For example, the new practice of scenography that constructed different (fictional) worlds onstage as realistic pictures can be considered as a phenomenon that shared many similarities with landscape entertainments, discussed in the previous chapter. Both were partly influenced by the growing emphasis placed on the visual experience in tourism, and can be understood as examples of the paradox between the desire for reality and the presentation of this reality as 'composed and structured . . . pictorial art.'[16] Moreover, the coming together of theatre and the visual arts in this period has also been analysed extensively by many. Scholars have discussed topics ranging from the 'realization' of paintings in theatre, to borrow Martin Meisel's phrase, to the influence of the proliferation of theatre-related printed materials had on the experience inside the playhouse.[17] The interaction

[15] Jim Davis, 'Disrupting the Quotidian: Hoaxes, Fires, and Non-theatrical Performance in Nineteenth-Century London,' *New Theatre Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (February 2013): 3. Note that in film studies, as discussed in Michele Aaron, *Spectatorship: The Power of Looking On* (London: Wallflower, 2007), 1, spectatorship is defined as a way of looking by the spectator, who is understood as not an actual audience member, but a product of the cinema's ideological mechanism. It needs to be pointed out that in this chapter, the use of the word 'spectator' and 'spectatorship' excludes the connotation of the words in film studies and concerns only with the general meaning of the words.

[16] Christopher Baugh, 'Stage Design from Loutherbourg to Poel,' in *The Cambridge History of British Theatre, vol. 2. 1660-1895*, eds. Joseph Donohue (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 318. For a discussion of how this paradox can be observed in fine arts too, see Glen McGillivray, 'The Picturesque World Stage,' *Performance Research* 13, no. 4 (2008): 127-139. See also Kathryn R. Barush, 'Painting the Scene,' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theatre* (see note 9), 265-266 for an observation similar to mine. However, Barush's argument proposes a much closer link between stage design and the interest in imagined, virtual tourism through visual simulation. Nineteenth-century scenography also had much connection with developments in vision and technology in this period, and although this chapter does not have the scope for it, Sophie Nield, 'Technologies of Performance,' in *A Cultural History of Theatre, Vol. 5, The Age of Empire*, ed. Peter W. Marx (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), especially 211-214, offers an excellent exploration of this topic.

[17] For the former aspect, Martin Meisel's *Realizations: Narrative, Pictorial and Theatrical Arts in Nineteenth-Century England* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1983) is still a classical work. For the latter perspective, see for example David Vincent, *I Hope I Don't Intrude: Privacy and its Dilemmas in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 99-100; Jim Davis, 'Spectatorship.' In *The Cambridge Companion to British Theatre, 1730-1830*, eds. Jane Moody

between visual culture and stage design has been examined from different perspectives too. For instance, scholars have investigated the presence of media such as the moving panorama and the diorama in the playhouse and the representation of the stage through the toy theatre.[18]

The discussion above demonstrates that in the early nineteenth century, theatre had different intermedial relationships with a diverse group of media, to which the paper peepshow also belonged. This chapter discusses intermediality in a context that concerns little of the historical development of this object. Thus, instead of the concept of remediation, the framework proposed by Rajewsky is used, as it proves more useful for an analysis that looks at the specific medial configurations of the paper peepshow. Rajewsky conceptualises three types of intermedial relationship. The 'realization' of paintings on the stage and the adaptation of drama in the toy theatre can be considered as examples of the first category of the three, medial transposition. It describes the process through which one medium provides the source for the formation of the other, and includes examples such as film adaptations and novelizations.[19] The inclusion of other visual entertainments like the moving panorama or the diorama on the stage fits the criteria of the second type, media combination. This category can also be called multimedia or mixed media and concerns the practice where two or more media, while preserving their own materiality and medium specificity, are combined to make a new media product.[20]

The relationship between the paper peepshow and theatre can be analysed using the third type, intermedial reference. In this case, only one medium is materially present, and its intermediality with other media is achieved as it 'thematizes, evokes, or imitates elements or structures of another, conventionally distinct medium.'[21]

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and Daniel O'Quinn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 60. See also contributions in the special issue of *Nineteenth Century Theatre & Film* 39, no. 1 (Summer 2012), edited by Patricia Smyth, for more discussions about the relationship between theatre, art and visual culture.

[18] See for example Huhtamo, *Illusions in Motion*, 105. For a discussion about the use of diorama, see Christopher Baugh, 'Scenography and Technology,' in *The Cambridge Companion to British Theatre* (see note 17), 54. George Speaight's *Juvenile Drama: The History of the English Toy Theatre* (London: Macdonald, 1946) remains the classic work that goes into much detail about the connection between the toy theatre and theatre.

[19] Rajewsky, 'Intermediality,' 51. The theatrical productions played in the toy theatre can be considered as adaptations of the corresponding plays staged in actual playhouses. There are, however, instances where plays were produced specifically for the toy theatre.

[20] Ibid., 51-52. Rajewsky also argues that media combination can also lead to the formation of new media whose specificity is then the plurimedial foundation. Since in the nineteenth century, elements of dancing and singing gradually became the norm in theatrical performances, at least certain type of theatrical performances in this period, which did not incorporate other visual media, can also be considered as an example of media combination.

[21] Ibid., 52-53.

Rajewsky highlights in particular the importance of the '"as if"' character in instances of intermedial references. This feature denotes an illusion-forming quality that reminds us of the specific practices of the referenced medium created through the referencing medium.[22] In the paper peepshow, it is an illusion of the theatre stage that is evoked. This is hardly surprising since its most likely predecessor, the perspective toy theatre, is explicitly produced as a medium that not just represents various subject matters in three-dimensional forms but also incorporates them in a framework that emphasises a theatrical display. A panel with only the proscenium arch is always included as the foreground, regardless of the scenes depicted (Fig. 2.3).[23] This element imitates the aesthetics at the front of the auditorium and creates the impression that the scenes represent performances on a theatre stage. Although this design is no longer present in the paper peepshow, its front-face acts as a barrier between users and the cut-out panels, which is not unlike the separation of the audience from the theatre stage by the proscenium arch in this period, as discussed below.

Nonetheless, the front-face only has a function comparable to that of the proscenium arch but contains no obvious allusion to it. The intermedial reference of the paper peepshow to theatre is manifested in a different aspect: the similarities shared by the cut-out panels and stage design. As discussed in Chapter One, Ralph Hyde argues that the Baroque theatre is one of the influences on the paper peepshow due to the way the theatre stage was decorated. In this design system, which goes back to the Renaissance, painted flaps are placed in grooves or suspended from the ceiling on two sides of the stage to create the scenes for the performance, and the flaps diminish in size as they near the back of the stage, which houses the back-shutter; the sense of space and depth is thus achieved.[24] Although starting from the late eighteenth century, the regularity of purely two-dimensional flaps was broken up with the introduction of large three-dimensional scenery and visual entertainments such as the moving panorama and the diorama, the use of flaps was still important on the stage.[25] The theatre scholar Christopher Baugh summarizes this technique used in stage design as one that 'deconstruct[s] the real world into two-dimensional, sequentially placed

[22] Ibid., 55.
[23] Crépin, 'Martin Engelbrecht und die Guckkastentheater im 18. Jahrhundert,' 161. Crépin points out that the influence from Italian theatre on the Engelbrecht perspective theatre was particularly strong. On 161 -164 in the same volume, he also explains that for all the three sizes of the Engelbrecht perspective theatre, the panel with the proscenium arch is part of the standard structure. However, the proscenium arch panel of the middle-size works often do not survive.
[24] Huhtamo, *Illusions in Motion*, 94-95; Baugh, 'Stage Design from Loutherbourg to Poel,' 310.
[25] Baugh, 'Stage Design from Loutherbourg to Poel,' 314-315.

surfaces' and 'reconstruct[s] [them] . . . into a three-dimensional entity in the mind of the audience.'[26] In the paper peepshow, the same technique is employed to build the core of its structure, except that users can touch the panels instead of just looking at them. It needs to be pointed out, however, that the way a scene is presented in cut-out panels does not necessarily evoke the aesthetics embedded in flaps or wings on the stage. The paper peepshow panels very seldom show a design that intentionally frames the scene, a careful arrangement of fore-, mid- and background, or figures with stagey postures, as to be expected from theatre stage design.[27] Nonetheless, because of the close association between theatre and the practice of placing surfaces sequentially to create the illusion of depth, for nineteenth-century users, the peep-view could potentially remind them of the drama world and make them feel as if they were viewing a miniature stage set.

It is not only the physical layout of the stage that is imitated in the paper peepshow. Moreover, the sensation spectators experienced when looking at the performance in the 1800s could also be evoked when users peered through the peep-hole. The discussion of this experience also concerns the features of nineteenth-century stage design. Before the late eighteenth century, the scenery remained simple and in the back, presenting a 'scenically neutral performance space,' whereas performers stood in front of the proscenium arch, on the forestage that protruded into the area where the audience sat, and were thus detached from the scenic part.[28]

Radical changes started to take place in the late eighteenth century. The stage designer Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg, who worked for David Garrick briefly at Drury Lane, is arguably the most representative and important advocators and practitioners of theatre stage design reform.[29] The neutral space of performance on the stage became gradually replaced by detailed and spectacular representations, while actors and actresses were also increasingly pushed towards the back with the diminishing of the forestage, becoming part of the world on stage.[30] No longer split

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[26] Ibid., 310.

[27] In Field, *Playing with the Book*, 109-110, the author argues that in pop-up books, which also have cut-outs and thus affinity to theatre stage design, the scenes are framed with references to theatrical aesthetics.

[28] Baugh, 'Scenography and Technology,' 43-45.

[29] For a detailed discussion about Loutherbourg, see Baugh, 'Stage Design from Loutherbourg to Poel,' 310-315. Note that Baugh also points out that the impact of Loutherbourg's new conceptualization of the theatre stage should not be overestimated.

[30] Ibid., 310-311. Note that Joseph Donohue in 'Theatres, Their Architecture and Their Audiences,' in *The Cambridge History of British Theatre* (see note 16), 297-298, points out that this trend had already started even before the eighteenth century. In *Illusions in Motion*, 120, Huhtamo argues that the trend of absorbing performances in scenography in theatre can be considered as a phenomenon that shared certain similarities with the emergence of actorless entertainments outside of the playhouse, such as

between the stage and the forestage, the theatre world became a coherent, harmonious whole that included both performances and scenic elements and was distinguished from the audience both physically and psychologically.[31] In other words, behind the proscenium arch, the theatre stage became a fictional realm that existed outside of the auditorium, a picture, a window on the world, which invited the spectators to explore.[32]

However, this impression of the stage often proved difficult to sustain. On the one hand, important design elements of this space remained two-dimensional. Since performers were three dimensional and could thus not be completed absorbed into the scene, they constituted the parts that would contradict the illusion of scenography: in other words, the presence of actors and actresses was the constant reminder that the world onstage is itself illusionary.[33] On the other hand, the lighting condition in the auditorium also functioned to undermine the impression of the stage as a world severed from the spectators. Before the end of the nineteenth century, although theatre lights could already be dimmed to a certain extent, the auditorium remained bright throughout the whole performance.[34] As the audience and the stage shared very much the same light level, the boundary between the stage and the auditorium could be easily transgressed.[35]

It thus becomes clear that the effectiveness of the creation of the world on the stage as a different realm depended not only on scenography but also the cooperation of spectators. Only when they suspended their reason and accepted being transported into an imaginary world behind the proscenium arch could the illusion of theatre design succeed.[36] This argument echoes the concept of 'the willing suspension of disbelief,' proposed by the poet and philosopher Samuel Taylor Coleridge to describe

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the panorama and the diorama. Even though the nineteenth century was when theatre scenography underwent dramatic changes, as Shearer West in 'Manufacturing Spectacle,' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Georgian Theatre* (see note 9), 287-288, argues, we should caution against having a neat teleology that traces the history of English stage design as one that evolved from the bare, abstract eighteenth-century stage to the pictorial, realistic nineteenth-century stage. She argues that for example, spectacles common in nineteenth-century stage design already started to appear in the eighteenth century.

[31] Baugh, 'Scenography and Technology,'43.

[32] Baugh, 'Stage Design from Loutherbourg to Poel,' 309; 318.

[33] Arnold Aronson, *Looking into the Abyss: Essays on Scenography* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, c2005), 105-106.

[34] Frederick Penzel, *Theatre Lighting before Electricity* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, c1978), 53-56. Penzel's work provides a detailed account of the history of theatre lighting in the nineteenth century.

[35] Victor Emeljanow, 'Erasing the Spectator: Observations on Nineteenth Century Lighting,' *Theatre History Studies* 18 (1998): 107.

[36] Tracy C. Davis, 'Theatricality and Civil Society,' in *Theatricality* (see note 11), 137.

readers' voluntary sacrifice of their judgement of realism and logic in order to enjoy literature of supernatural or surreal nature.[37] However, the media scholar Janet Murray's appropriation of Coleridge's concept may prove even more useful. Murray points out that his formulation is too passive. Instead, she argues that in 'a fictional world, we do not merely "suspend" a critical faculty; we also exercise a creative faculty,' and proposes the concept 'active creation of belief.'[38] Bringing in this framework, the discussion here argues that spectators in the auditorium did not just passively shut off their judgement and waited to be transported into another world by the performance, but actively used their imagination to facilitate the process.

For nineteenth-century users, this idea of exercising the 'active creation of belief' when perceiving the theatre stage could also be evoked in their consumption of paper peepshows. Looking at the layered panels designed to simulate a miniature theatre stage and conjure up an imaginary realm in three-dimensionality, they might encounter a situation familiar to what they experienced in the real auditorium: the illusion of a fictional world could prove less than ideal. This scenario can be illustrated with *Theatrorama* since compared to *Adelphi Theatre*, it conforms more to the conventional structure of the paper peepshow. As previously discussed, the peep-view is the combination of fragmented views on individual panels, which, because of users' unstable hands holding them, are in constant movement. These two factors result in the situation where the optimal distance between panels cannot always be achieved, which affects the effect of three-dimensionality. Bent over the weight of panels, the bellows often protrude into the peep-view, and the intended scene of a crowded auditorium becomes less convincing when the space between spectators and performers is interrupted by blankness (Fig. 2.4). Moreover, the rough execution of the panels in *Theatrorama*, which is not untypical for English paper peepshows, would not be of great help for realising the illusion of a fictional realm either. The people portrayed on the first panel appear far from lifelike: the barely present chiaroscuro results in rather flat-looking figures, while the depiction of people's faces is almost childlike. As we move further back, the panels appear even cruder in execution, with the bodies of figures often only indicated by a few lines instead of drawn out in full (Fig. 2.5).

[37] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, ed. Adam Roberts (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 208.
[38] Janet H. Murray, *Hamlet on the Holodeck: The Future of Narrative in Cyberspace* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: The MIT Press, 1998), 110.

However, instead of treating these structural features and the simplistic panels as a hindrance to the formation of an effective peep-view, it is also possible to consider them as an indispensable part in the experience of using the paper peepshow in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Precisely because users could not simply look behind the front-face and have the perfect three-dimensional and lifelike depiction presented to them, they would probably need to actively suspend their concerns about the unrealistic portrayal and use their imagination to cohere the panels into one image of depth and perspective in order to enjoy the peep-view. This experience would be unique to the individual user, not only because it depended on the working of their minds, but also since how the peep-view looked was contingent on the subjective body of consumers. The delight gained from using *Theatrorama* would come not just from perceiving objects, but also the process of transforming them through one's own effort, turning unsophisticated two-dimensional depiction into a vivid three-dimensional world. This active exercise of the creative faculty in the consumption of *Theatrorama*, as well as other paper peepshows, could call to mind one essential aspect of the experience in the playhouse.

More importantly, by using *Theatrorama* to demonstrate how the 'active creation of belief' experienced in watching theatre performances could be evoked, the discussion here has also arrived at one possible answer to the question posed in Chapter One: where does the sense of wonder experienced in using the paper peepshow come from? In his analysis of nineteenth-century optical devices such as the kaleidoscope and the stereoscope, Jonathan Crary argues that 'the undisguised nature of their operational structure and the form of subjection they entail' constituted part of their appeal because these features enabled the demystification of knowledge of optics and the democratisation of techniques of illusion.[39] Insightful as his analysis is, it may not be necessary to always associate the experience with optical toys with a Foudcauldian biopolitics reading. As the case of *Theatrorama*, which is representative of other paper peepshows, indicate, the unconcealed and unsophisticated working mechanism of this medium has little knowledge of optics to entail. Nonetheless, it might still induce delight from nineteenth-century users as it could demonstrate how simple panels could be turned into a fictional world with the help of consumers' imagination.

[39] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 132-133.

Considering the various connections between the paper peepshow and theatre, it might appear rather strange that this association was not fully exploited as there are so few works depicting the drama world. A possible reason for this phenomenon can be that there was already a popular domestic pastime about theatre, the English toy theatre. This medium appeared around the 1810s, initially in response to the growing popularity and development of souvenir portraits of actors and actresses.[40] The characters printed on the sheet were pasted on cardboard and then cut out, and the scenes were mounted in a small theatre stage; a play could then be performed.[41] By the late 1820s, the toy theatre industry witnessed a shift to mass production that led to its further popularisation, and many famous public figures were fascinated by this medium during their childhood.[42] Although the toy theatre is often perceived to be targeted at children, in the early stages of its development, it was actually intended for theatre enthusiasts, mostly young men and older boys.[43] This means that there would be quite some overlap between the consumer group of the toy theatre and that of the paper peepshow. In the discussion below about *Adelphi Theatre*, detailed analysis will investigate why might the former medium jeopardize the popularity of the latter featuring portrayals of the drama world. In addition, the investigation of *Theatrorama* demonstrates that the restrictions inherent to the paper peepshow as a medium could also have contributed to the fact that theatre remained a not well-received topic.

Many of the implications of the two aforementioned aspects of intermedial references to theatre in the paper peepshow are also relevant in works that portray other subject matters, as will become clear in subsequent chapters. In the works discussed here, their representations of the auditorium and performances further complicate this intermedial relationship as they reinterpret the experience of going to the playhouse from various perspectives. Because the paper peepshows have individual design features and focus of depiction, they will be examined separately. In *Theatrorama*, it is not the performance, which is unidentified and portrayed only on the last panel, but the audience and the atmosphere of theatre-going that constitute

[40] Speaight, *Juvenile Drama*, 15-21.
[41] Ibid., 21.
[42] *The Miniature Stage: 19th Century English Toy Theatre* (Oxford: University of Oxford, Christ Church Library, 2017), n.p. The popularity of the toy theatre among some of the most well-known nineteenth-century English writers, such as Charles Dickens and Robert Louis Stevenson is discussed in Liz Farr, 'Paper Dreams and Romantic Projections: The Nineteenth-Century Toy Theater, Boyhood and Aesthetic Play,' in *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture* (see note 57 in Chapter One), 43.
[43] In *Juvenile Drama*, 118-120, Speaight discusses this issue from various aspects, including the style and content of toy theatre sheets and the accompanying booklet, accounts from nineteenth-century sources and some visual sources.

the primary subject of depiction and my analysis. While *Adelphi Theatre* also includes depictions of spectators, it focuses on representing a popular theatrical performance contemporary to it. In this work, the reimagination of the embodied spectatorship in the theatre is the focus of my examination.

The Visuality of Theatre Re-presented in *Theatrorama*

The importance of looking in both the theatre-going experience in nineteenth-century England and modern scholarship of theatre studies has been repeatedly discussed. This should not be surprising since, after all, the etymology of the word 'theatre' already hints at the centrality of vision in the playhouse as it goes back to *theatron*, which signifies the place where 'someone both watches and is being watched.'[44] If the visual has already been given a place in the theatre by default, its importance was much emphasized in the nineteenth century due to various factors. These include the aforementioned increasing importance of spectacles onstage and the lavish decoration employed by playhouses, many of which also underwent expansions in this period.[45] Modes of vision that took place in the playhouse included looks that spectators cast onto the stage, as well as the exchange of sight between them. Connected with these forms of visuality are issues such as attention and subjectivity. Their reinterpretation in *Theatrorama*, primarily through the structure of the peep-hole and the miniature size, is the focus of discussion of this section.

Despite the spectacular stage, performers during the 1820s often had to fight for attention from spectators. The audience might be as interested in looking at each other as at the stage since the evenly-lit auditorium also meant that they could see fellow spectators even better than they could see the front of the auditorium.[46] Be it the fashionable clothing of the theatre-goers, the lavish decoration in the playhouse, or the spectacular effect on the stage, there were simply too many factors in the theatre that 'vied for [the] undivided attention' of the spectators, a situation that also replicated itself outside the playhouse, where other visual and optical entertainments

[44] Eleni Papalexiou, 'The Dramaturgies of the Gaze: Strategies of Vision and Optical Revelations in the Theatre of Romeo Castellucci and the Socìetas Raffaello Sanzio,' in *Theatre as Voyeurism: The Pleasures of Watching*, eds. George Rodosthenous (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 50.
[45] Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London*, 151; Jane Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space, and Architecture in Regency London* (London: Athlone Press, c2002), 104. See Ian Mackintosh, 'Departing Glories of the British Theatre: Setting Suns over A Neo-Classical Landscape,' in *London World City* (see note 20 in Chapter One), 202; Baer, *Theatre and Disorder in Late Georgian London*, 47, for discussions on the relationship between the increase of spectacles and the expansion of playhouses.
[46] Emeljanow, 'Erasing the Spectator,' 109.

competed for the eyes of potential patrons.[47] To a certain extent, there are some superficial similarities between the experience of having one's attention constantly attracted by various elements in the theatre and the sensation of looking into *Theatrorama*. While the panels are not executed with the best quality, they do depict a range of visual stimuli commonly encountered in the playhouse, including the interaction between the audience, the background of the stage, which incorporates strong perspective to enhance the illusion of depth, the performance of the dancers and the orchestra, and of course, the spectators (Fig. 2.5 to Fig 2.7). As my experience in archives makes clear, because of the monocular vision involved in the consumption of the paper peepshow, the panels do not appear with the same level of clarity all at once due to the way the eye adjusts its focus.[48] Often, it was necessary to constantly shift my attention between different parts of a work as my eye wandered among the panels in order to grasp details of the depicted scenes.[49] Since paying attention to the individual panels can result in me losing the sense of the depth of the peep-view, I would then need to travel through the panels to appreciate the three-dimensional effect in its entirety.

This mode of looking, where the eyes roam among various visual elements and never fix on one, appears similar to that in the early nineteenth-century playhouse. However, the nature of the attention entailed in these two situations is very different. Although in using the paper peepshow, users need to look around instead of concentrating their eyes on one element *inside* the work, they remain focus in their act of peering *through* the peep-hole. The fact that one needs to contribute to the realization of the three-dimensional effect actively would also require such concentrated attention. Moreover, the focused look results from the peep-hole structure too. In her discussion of aperture-ruled optical devices from the early modern period, the art historian Barbara Stafford argues that the structure of these objects obliged the historical users to focus their eyes and their otherwise dispersed attention through the opening.[50] Stafford contends that in such moments of heightened attention,

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[47] Barbara Maria Stafford, 'Seizing Attention: Devices and Desires,' *Art History* 39, no. 2 (April 2016): 423. Although Stafford is describing the relationship between early modern technological devices here, her summary of their competitive relations can also be applied to describing the situation in the auditorium and the visual culture of England in the early nineteenth century.

[48] See Jonathan Potter, *Discourse of Vision in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Seeing, Thinking, Writing* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 148, for a theorisation of this experience.

[49] See also Veronica della Dora, 'Putting the World into a Box: A Geography of Nineteenth-Century "Travelling Landscapes,"' *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 89, no. 4 (2007), 293-294 for a similar observation of the wandering of the eye in the paper peepshow, in the context of works depicting the Great Exhibition.

[50] Stafford, 'Seizing Attention,' 424.

these devices functioned as perceptual and cognitive focusing tools that helped their users make sense of the world they lived in by enabling the reintegration of their consciousness.[51]

The paper peepshow can also be considered as one type of aperture-ruled optical device. The intense concentration demanded by its consumption can thus be explained by its structure too. My discussion here, however, concerns itself more with how would the heightened attention contribute to the general consumption experience of the paper peepshow, instead of the possible educational effect of training the cognitive focus. Hence, Stafford's other argument about apertured-ruled optical toys is more relevant here. She observes that 'the magnitude of the otherwise simple perpetual stimulus provided by ordinary reality' represented in these devices is strengthened due to the intense concentration exercised in the process of consuming these toys.[52] The miniature size can also contribute to this phenomenon where the everyday appears to be something special. As the novelist Steve Millhauser observes, the miniature's relation to detail is complex. Relating to his own fascination with the miniature, he contends that instead of obscuring the detail, the very smallness of the object demands our increased attention. As we look at the miniature with heightened concentration, we develop 'a hunger for detail' and take delight in focusing our eyes on them, experiencing even the otherwise commonplace sights as exciting in their tiny forms.[53]

In the context of *Theatrorama*, such mode of looking forms a contrast with the distracted vision, which occurred in the nineteenth-century playhouse that this work depicts. While users saw the cut-out panel portrayal of the absent-minded spectators who looked around, they would not experience a similar sensation but would have their concentration focused on the work instead. At the same time, as the structural characteristics of *Theatrorama* would encourage consumers to place its representation of spectators, stage design, and performers under intense scrutiny, users might gain more delight from focusing their eyes on these visual stimuli than when they looked at the figures and objects in actual playhouses with dispersed attention. In addition,

[51] Ibid., 424-425. Stafford also makes the similar argument regarding nineteenth-century optical toys in Barbara Maria Stafford, 'Revealing Technologies/Magical Domains,' in *Devices of Wonder* (see note 25 in the Introduction), 108. For discussions of the training of the concentration of attention in late nineteenth century and in relation to optical devices as well as theatre, see Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, c1999).
[52] Stafford, 'Seizing Attention,' 424.
[53] Steve Millhauser, 'The Fascination of the Miniature,' *Grand Street* 2, no. 4 (Summer 1983): 131.

my analysis of the aperture structure and the miniature size of the paper peepshow can be used to explain the sense of wonder generated in the consumption of this medium in general from a different perspective. Under the influence of these formal features, the ordinary-looking panels can also offer special stimuli for the eye because of the intense attention devoted to them, which can contribute to the evocation of joy and wonder.

The exchange of looks between spectators is another crucial aspect of visuality in the theatre.[54] Apart from the lit auditorium, the interior design of the playhouse also encouraged scopic exchange as the lavish decoration often functioned as the ideal background against which spectators could display themselves.[55] Perhaps nothing illustrates this mode of looking better than the enormous mirror curtain installed in the Royal Coburg Theatre (now the Old Vic) in 1821 (Fig. 2.8).[56] Known as the Coburg Glass, it would be put down to hang between the audience and the stage before the performances started, and through reflecting those who sat in the auditorium in this manner, it constituted the perfect materialisation of the experience of looking and being looked at between spectators.[57]

There has been an extensive discussion on the significance of the exchange of looks between spectators in the theatre from various perspectives.[58] The theorization proposed by the cultural and literary historian Peter De Bolla of this mode of vision is quite relevant to the discussion here. De Bolla coins the term autovoyeurism to

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[54] There is also much discussion on the implication of the exchange of looks in the auditorium in the wider society. See for example Peter W. Marx, 'Introduction: Cartographing the Long Nineteenth Century,' in *A Cultural History of Theatre* (see note 16), 1; Davis, 'Spectatorship,' 63; Joseph Litvak, *Caught in the Act: Theatricality in the Nineteenth-Century English Novel* (Berkley, Cali.; Oxford: University of California Press, 1991).

[55] Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 104.

[56] Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London*, 152. In addition, prints from this period can also testify the central role occupied by the scopie exchange among the audience in their theatre-going experience. See Davis, 'Looking and Being Looked at: Visualizing the Nineteenth-Century Spectator,' *Theatre Journal* 69, no. 4 (December 2017): 515-534, for an excellent analysis of these representations.

[57] Jim Davis 'Looking and Being Looked at,' 516-518; Isobel Armstrong, 'Transparency,' 125. Scholarship on the Coburg Glass is immense and covers many other aspects that cannot be included in this chapter due to its limited scope. See for example Bethan Carney, 'The Representation of Joe Whelks: Charles Dickens's Reflections on a Theatre Audience,' *Journal of Victorian Culture* 22, no. 2 (2017): 209, for a discussion on the Glass being a symbol for the transgressed boundary between the performers and the spectators. See Moody, *Illegitimate Theatre in London*, 152-154; Armstrong, 'Transparency,' 124-125; Armstrong, *Victorian Glassworlds*, 98-99 for analyses of the association of the Coburg Glass with illusion in the playhouse.

[58] One common approach is based on the Foucauldian assumption that the auditorium is a space that regulated conducts. See for example Litvak, *Caught in the Act*, x; Deborah Vlock, *Dickens, Novel Reading, and the Victorian Popular Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); 136-137; Chris Otter, *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800-1910* (Chicago, Ill.; London: University of Chicago Pres, 2008), 48-50; 63; 73-74. See Jim Davis, 'Social Functions: The Social Functions of Theatre,' in *A Cultural History of Theatre* (see note 16), 57 for a critique of the limitation of this conceptualization.

describe the triangular relationship established in the practice of looking and being looked at in public space: as a person watches others in the activity of spectating, s/he also becomes aware of her/his being an object of vision for others and looks at her/himself as if a spectator.[59] Through this 'imagination and phantasmic projection of a third person,' the spectator gains a heightened sense of the individual agency of being a subject, which then contributes to the construction of the self-image.[60] Although De Bolla situates his argument in relation to the socio-cultural conditions of the eighteenth century, what happens in the act of autovoyeurism can also be explained as a general phenomenon with a philosophical conceptualization. Jean-Paul Sartre and Jacques Lacan, for example, both connect the acquisition of self-awareness with the knowledge of being the object of the look of the Other. They argue that it is through the loss of the self to the gaze of the Other that one can become a subject in the first place and gain the ability of self-reflection.[61]

Thus, it can be argued that the scopic exchange between spectators in the nineteenth-century theatre could also be understood as a form of autovoyeurism that functioned to construct or confirm their self-image in public.[62] This mode of looking is also represented in *Theatrorama*. While most of the audience depicted in this work appear to be either engrossed in the performance or in conversation with their companions, some appear to pay more attention to other spectators. For example, the two people on the far left side of the pit on the second panel look pensively at others sitting near them, while the two men in the top-right box on the same panel also ignore the stage and look downwards into the auditorium, with one of them even holding a pair of binoculars (Fig. 2.5 and Fig. 2.9). However, it is not the exchange of looks, but voyeurism, that occupies the central role in the experience of using *Theatrorama*. Its title, 'a peep at the playhouse,' already indicates this way of looking. As discussed in Chapter One, Erkki Huhtamo argues that the action of peeping is a topos often evoked in the consumption of aperture-ruled devices with a box-shape structure, including the paper peepshow. Of course, the evocation of 'peeping' in the use of the paper peepshow does not need to be a reference to voyeurism. For example, in the literary

[59] Peter De Bolla, *The Education of the Eye: Painting, Landscape, and Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford, Cali.: Stanford University Press, 2003), 79.
[60] Ibid., 79-80.
[61] Laurens De Vos, 'Always Looking Back at the Voyeur: Jan Fabre's Extreme Acts on Stage,' in *Theatre as Voyeurism* (see note 44), 31-32.
[62] De Bolla argues that that the eighteenth-century society was predicted upon such construction of the self-image through the process of autovoyeurism. For his detailed argument, and the diverse range of occasions where autovoyeurism was implicated in this period, see *The Education of the Eye*.

genre of city guide, the phrase 'a peep at [certain place]' is commonly used to imply a form of 'enquiry that is both light and pervasive' and 'too unthreatening to be resisted.'[63] This usage is likely to be the one referred to in the title of *A Peep at the Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre*, as its design and structure do not make an obvious association with the idea of secretive looking. However, in *Theatrorama*, the use of the word 'peep' is likely to be intended as a reference to its meaning that describes the furtive, voyeuristic look, which becomes clear with the examination of the design of this work.[64] The general structure of the paper peepshow already implies voyeurism by placing the user at the back of the front-face and keeping them from being seen by figures depicted on the inside. This is further reinforced by the front-face of *Theatrorama*, which portrays a fashionably dressed couple on the left, who appear to have arrived late for the performance and are just being welcomed by the theatre staff holding a key on the right, about to open the door with the peep-hole in the middle (Fig. 2.10).[65] The narrative of the front-face hints at the next possible action of the couple—peeping through the closed door into the playhouse. For nineteenth-century users, this could be interpreted as a design intended to mirror their peering through the same opening into the paper peepshow. This image could thus draw attention to the voyeuristic nature implied in the consumption of this object by highlighting that just like the couple, users could also only catch a glimpse of the inside of the auditorium while staying outside.[66]

The positioning of users of *Theatrorama* as voyeurs is enhanced through the depiction of the audience, the majority of whom are immersed in their own world and do not notice the look from behind the front-face, which underscores its secrecy. Very interestingly, on the first cut-out panel, which portrays spectators in what appears to be a private box, one man on the right-hand side seems to glance at the direction of the front-face (Fig. 2.11). This looking back of the object of voyeurism might startle the peeping user at the first instance. However, upon closer scrutiny, it would become clear that this person probably just wants to talk to his companion in green, who is almost obscured by the man in a black jacket. This design could almost be taunting

[63] Vincent, *I Hope I Don't Intrude*, 120-121.
[64] *Oxford English Dictionary* Online, s.v. 'peep, v.1.' (Oxford University Press, June 2020), accessed 11 June 2020, https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/Entry/139706?rskey=ulMVDC&result=4&isAdvanced=false.
[65] The other rectangular openings on the door are painted on.
[66] While in theory, the panels can also be viewed from the two sides where there are no bellows, my experience in archives suggests that little of the depicted scenes can be seen when one takes this viewing angle.

for users as it points right at the risk of being discovered as a voyeur. Yet at the same time, it would still reassure the person looking through the peep-hole that there was no such danger in the consumption of this paper peepshow, as the look of the people on the panels could not be truly reciprocal.

If autovoyeurism is about the construction of the self-image, then exactly the opposite is at play in the activity of voyeurism. In Sartre's description of this mode of looking, which he crystallizes with reference to the image of a person looking through a keyhole, the characteristics of voyeurism become very clear. Describing the voyeur as being alone and looking through a keyhole that is just big enough for the eye, Sartre emphasises the seclusive and secretive condition of voyeurism, which is not about the mutual consensus between the viewing subject and object, but the knowledge of seeing without being seen.[67] The voyeuristic gaze is thus closely associated with the exercise of power on the person unaware of being watched from the peeper at the keyhole.[68] This seclusive and secretive condition also means that in the voyeur's absorption in the act of looking, the normal scopic exchange between the subject and object of the gaze is missing, resulting in the momentary suspension of the process of self-reflection and self-awareness.[69] Corresponding to these two main features, the significance of the voyeuristic connotation embedded in *Theatrorama* is also twofold. On the one hand, when they conducted the secretive look, users might feel that they were placed in a power relationship to the figures depicted. On the other hand, while these consumers could see depictions of people exchanging looks and witness the construction of self-image in the public playhouse as an outsider, what they experienced in their consumption of this work would actually be a temporary loss of self.

The narrative of the voyeur at the keyhole has a second part: on suddenly hearing the footstep behind him, the peeper's indulgence in his being invisible to others is disrupted, and he becomes aware of himself as an object.[70] In *Theatrorama*, this scenario is also included through the design of the first cut-out panel. When users saw the man who turns to the back and looks as if staring into the direction of the

[67] De Vos, 'Always Looking Back at the Voyeur,' 30.
[68] Ibid., 30. Often this exertion of power has a sexual connotation, as can be seen in the classical model of the male gaze. Yet this is of little relevance to the discussion here, as the depiction in *Theatrorama* does not have a focus on female spectators or performers, nor does its portrayal have a sexual undertone.
[69] Ibid., 31-32.
[70] Nead, *The Haunted Gallery*, 182. Although here Nead discusses the association between the voyeur and the person looking through the peepshow box, the analysis can also be relevant to the consumption of the paper peepshow. Of course, the difference in the structures of the two media impacts how this episode of the voyeur being interrupted plays out, and this aspect is discussed below.

front-face, they might realise in this moment of seemingly scopic exchange that their secretive gaze could be exposed. They would thus become aware of themselves as object again, regaining the self-awareness suspended during the voyeuristic look. In addition, the moment of disruption to the act of voyeurism could also happen because of the social nature of the consumption of this paper peepshow. Quite possible, the user would use the work while surrounded by family or friends in the parlour or even helped by one of them in stabilising the expanded bellows. Thus, even when s/he became absorbed by the peep-view and experienced moments of isolated immersion and loss of subjectivity in the act of voyeurism, this would not be a state that could last for long. Those in the same room might make noises, or even look from the side of the paper peepshow not covered by bellows while the user was peering into the miniature world. Both these scenarios would make the person peeping through the front-face quickly became aware of her/his visibility to others again and fall from voyeurism back into the normal scopic exchange.

In contrast to the sensation of using the paper peepshow, in the visuality experienced in the early nineteenth-century theatre, voyeurism did not really happen. The male gaze directed at female spectators is sometimes interpreted as voyeuristic.[71] However, even though the object of the scrutiny was unaware of being watched, the male viewer, as well as his action, would nonetheless be exposed to others in the auditorium. There is also a conceptualization that links voyeurism with the playhouse by arguing that in an auditorium with the proscenium arch, the bodies of performers were made to look smaller than those of spectators due to the footlight and the orchestra separating the stage and the seats.[72] Performers thus appeared to be puppet-like creatures, an impression that might endow the audience with a sense of power over the stage, resulting in a situation that would be comparable to the power relation experienced by a voyeur.[73] However, because of the lit auditorium, the necessary condition of being secretive could not be achieved, thus making the act of voyeurism in Sartre's definition impossible to be realized.[74] In *Theatrorama*, the voyeuristic look, which was only alluded to in the auditorium, could be experienced in a much

[71] See for example Rendell, *Pursuit of Pleasure*, 114-115.
[72] Dennis Kennedy, *The Spectator and the Spectacle: Audiences in Modernity and Postmodernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 134.
[73] Ibid., 134-135.
[74] The darkened auditorium that started to appear since the late nineteenth-century requires a different approach in analysing voyeurism in the theatre. For a discussion, see for example George Rodosthenous, 'Introduction: Staring at the Forbidden: Legitimising Voyeurism,' in *Theatre as Voyeurism* (see note 44), 3-8.

prominent form. Combined with its reference to the exchange of looks between spectators, this paper peepshow could function as a tool that enabled users to observe and experience several scenarios of constructing self-awareness and self-reflection in the scopic field in their consumption of the work.

Although the structure of the paper peepshow evokes aspects of the stage design and the sensation of looking beyond the proscenium arch, *Theatrorama* does not replicate the visual experience in the playhouse fully. Instead of seeing representations of scattered attention and the scopic exchange between spectators, nineteenth-century users would experience looking with intense concentration and the voyeuristic mode of vision more prominently. Nonetheless, this interpretation might prove attractive as it could provide a different way of perceiving the world inside the playhouse, while the appeal of the visual stimuli in the auditorium could be magnified through the paper peepshow structure and its miniature size. It can appear rather odd then, that publishers did not seem to show much interest in this type of design, as no similar works can be identified. One reason for this situation might come precisely from the features of *Theatrorama* discussed above. The focus of the work is on the sensation experienced by users, not the content of the performance on the stage. However, if this is the case, it would mean that any works with the same design idea of *Theatrorama* but depicting a different performance might be perceived as essentially its copies with a different background. They would hardly provide any new experience, thus becoming a redundant commodity and not favoured by publishers. *Adelphi Theatre*, on the contrary, embodies a different design and represents a popular theatrical performance of its time. Yet as the next section makes clear, although the design of this work could potentially offer more variety for paper peepshows about theatre and facilitate their sales, there is another obstacle that might have made it less easy for them to succeed on the market.

Interpreting Embodied Spectatorship in *Adelphi Theatre*

Adelphi Theatre is very clear about the content of its representation. It portrays scenes from *Elephant of Siam*, a production that featured the elephant Mlle. Djeck and was very popular during the 1829-30 season, running between 3 December 1829 and 29 March 1830, totalling eighty-six performances.[75] Written by Samuel Beazely

[75] Alfrida Lee ed., 'Calendar for 1829-1830, The Adelphi Theatre Calendar,' accessed 30 March 2019, https://www.umass.edu/AdelphiTheatreCalendar/m29d.htm#Label001. For more information on the history of the elephant that performed in the show, see A. H. Saxon, 'The Circus as Theatre: Astley's

junior, *Elephant of Siam* tells the story of how the young Prince *Almanza*, rightful heir to the throne of Siam, with the help of the sacred elephant of Siam, defeated the usurper *Korassan* and *Hafed* the fire-fiend and won back his intended bride, the Princess *Indamora*.[76] *Elephant of Siam* can be considered as a production that incorporated all of the signature features of the Adelphi Theatre. Located at the edge of the West End Theatreland in London, this playhouse was opened in 1806 under the name Sans Pareil by John Scott.[77] It was renamed the Adelphi Theatre in 1819, and in 1829, when the production depicted in the paper peepshow was staged, it was under the management of Frederick Yates with the new name the Theatre Royal, Adelphi.[78] As a typical middle-class theatre, the Adelphi Theatre was best known for its novelty in production and exploration of spectacular optical effects and experimental hybrid drama.[79] *Elephant of Siam* can be considered to be a production that incorporates all of these signature features. According to press reviews, the optical effects displayed during the performance had kept up with the theatre's reputation and was considered splendid and absolutely successful, while Mlle. Djeck's performance of tricks was no less spectacular and satisfied much curiosity.[80] Moreover, as demonstrated from the playbill, the theatre also emphasised the novel and hybrid nature of the production by highlighting the inclusion of animal acts that typically belonged to the programme of the circus. This focus of marketing is evident from the repeated appearance of the word 'elephant' and the central position it occupies on the playbill (Fig. 2.12).[81]

Unsurprisingly, the popularity of *Elephant of Siam* encouraged the market to produce a wide range of souvenirs, including a programme that details the acts of the

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and Its Actors in the Age of Romanticism,' *Educational Theatre Journal* 27, no. 3 (October 1975): 304-305.

[76] *The Extraordinary Performances of the Great Siam Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre: With the Programme of the Piece in which She Acts the Principal Character* (London: Cowie and Strange; Purkess, c1830), 3. This publication is a souvenir programme to the performance.

[77] Ben P. Robertson, 'Scott, Jane, and the Sans Pareil,' in *The Encyclopedia of Romantic Literature*, eds. Frederick Burwick, Mancy Moore Goslee and Diane Long Hoeveler (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 1195-1196.

[78] Ibid., 1198.

[79] Ibid., 1198; Simon During, '"The Temple Lives": The Lyceum and Romantic Show Business,' in *Romantic Metropolis* (see note 107 in Chapter One), 210; Joseph Donohue, 'Introduction: The Theatre from 1800 to 1895,' in *The Cambridge History of British Theatre* (see note 16), 219-220.

[80] See for example, 'Adelphi Theatre,' *Morning Post*, 4 December 1829, British Library Newspapers, Gale Primary Sources; 'Adelphi Theatre,' *The Times*, 4 December 1829, 2, *The Times* Digital Archive, Gale Primary Sources. In comparison, the writer for *The Times* appears less impressed with the performance of the elephant, while nonetheless acknowledging its novelty.

[81] The emphasis on animal acts, apart from evoking curiosity, could also be a way to link *Elephant of Siam* with the family-friendly and educational reputation of the circus, thus rendering the production attractive to a wider range of patrons. For a detailed discussion of the history of the circus and how it achieved its claim to educational value in the nineteenth century, see Marius Kwint, 'The Legitimization of the Circus in Late Georgian England,' *Past & Present* 174, no. 1 (February 2002): 72-115.

performance together with the prologue delivered by Frederick Yates and a brief natural history of the elephant, [82] as well as a plate featuring a scene in the performance (Fig. 2.13). The paper peepshow *Adelphi Theatre* would have almost certainly been sold as a commemorative item too, and its publisher probably even deliberately placed this work in the network of souvenirs of *Elephant of Siam*. For instance, the verse that appears on the front-face beneath the peep-hole shutter is adapted from a poem by the poet and dramatist John Gay (Fig. 2.14). This reference echoes the content of a souvenir programme, which contains the same section of the poem but in its original formulation.[83] The function of the paper peepshow as a souvenir will, however, be discussed in detail in Chapter Four in relation to its depiction of the Thames Tunnel. To avoid repetition, this chapter will thus concentrate on other aspects of *Adelphi Theatre*, which is the way it manifests how two versions of this work encourage users to interact with them creatively, thereby reinterpreting the embodied spectatorship experienced in the nineteenth-century theatre.

Adelphi Theatre constitutes a notable example for the analysis of paper peepshows because there exist two quite different versions of it. A published work belongs to the V&A Gestetner Collection (hereafter the V&A copy), and another one is at the Opie Collection at Oxford University (hereafter the Oxford copy). Although there is no provenance or archival evidence, the Oxford copy is probably the result of a published version of *Adelphi Theatre* altered amateurishly by its nineteenth-century owner.[84] The Oxford copy comes with what appears to be the original slipcase, which is missing from the V&A copy (Fig. 2.15). Apart from having some doodled patterns, its front-face is almost identical to that of the V&A copy (Fig. 2.16). The first cut-out panel that depicts the audience in the pit in the V&A copy have probably fallen out from the Oxford copy, along with the connecting bellows. This can explain why the shutter image attached to the bellow, which depicts the elephant performing picking up flowers with her trunk, is missing. The last two cut-out panels and the back-scene are also the same as in the V&A copy, although the panels are arranged in the opposite order, and the colours used for some objects are different. This discrepancy is likely to be a result of non-standardized production that led to the mix up of images in the

[82] *The Extraordinary Performances*.
[83] Ibid., 2.
[84] I base this argument on the way changes are made to this work, which is often not delicate, if not downright rough. It would be hard to imagine that this would be done by a twentieth-century collector, and certainly not staff from any archives. This conclusion is inspired by Hannah Field's argument in *Playing with the Book*, 56.

assembly process. The most noteworthy difference, however, is the panel that depicts spectators in boxes, which is the second one in the V&A copy and the first in the Oxford copy. In the latter, the panel is no longer empty in the centre. Instead, the owner made the important change of adding a watercolour portrait of the elephant standing by the tree in the middle (Fig. 2.17). This image does not just function as an additional scene of the play. It forms part of the mechanism that would have enabled the owner of this work to interact with it in ways not possible in a paper peepshow with the conventional structure. This element was probably inspired by the design of the V&A copy, whose last panel and back-scene depict the acts in the play *Elephant of Siam*. In the V&A copy, the panel portrays the moment when the Prince and his guards escape the prison by sliding down the elephant's back and the back-scene represents the climax, when the elephant is ridden by the royal couple triumphantly after the defeat of the usurper (Fig. 2.18 and Fig. 2.19). The last panel is not one piece of paper; instead, it consists of a board that bears the scene in the play in the centre, surrounded by a frame that depicts decorations on the stage. The board is only hinged on one side to the frame, on the right. On a gentle push, the image in the centre can be opened like a door to the side, revealing the back-scene (Fig. 2.20). The experience of using this paper peepshow would thus be more interactive than usual, since the user, by manipulating the work to enable the revelation of the back-scene, now played an essential part in the realization of the designed peep-view. The Oxford copy retains the same mechanism but also has an additional one in the first cut-out panel—the watercolour of the elephant, which fulfils a similar function. This image is put in as a board that can be opened to reveal the rest of the paper peepshow. Instead of hinging this panel on the side, the owner used a slot on its back to hold it in place, and when one removes the slot, the portrait of the elephant can be opened to the side (Fig. 2.21).

Although in the second cut-out panel of the V&A copy and the first of the Oxford copy, the figures look different, the decoration of the boxes is identical, and the parts that portray spectators in both works are printed, instead of drawn by hand (Fig. 2.22 and Fig. 2.23). This suggests that the depiction of the audience on the panel in the Oxford copy is unlikely to have been provided by the user; instead, a more probable explanation is that this is another case of the variation that occurred in the publishing process. While in theory, the producer would make a major change by adding the portrait of the elephant in order to make an alternative version of this work, the fact that this image is executed using watercolour makes this hypothesis rather inprobeable. If in the published work—the V&A copy, prints are used throughout the

paper peepshow, it would be quite odd if watercolour was considered just for one element in one panel. The inscription on the front-face, which explains that '[t]he first scene represents the escape of the Prince and his Guards from prison,' can also suggest that the watercolour panel is not part of the original design (Fig. 2.16).

The mechanism of the panels that can be pushed to the side in both copies of *Adelphi Theatre* is significant on several levels. Firstly, the way these structures enable two different peep-views is unique among English paper peepshows in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Normally, the unmovable back-scene can only provide one view through the peep-hole. While works from the *Pocket Panorama* series by Thomas McLean constitute the only other English examples that provide an alternative peep-view, this is achieved through a different mechanism—a removable back-slide placed on the back-scene (Fig. 2.24).[85]

Secondly, the innovative structure of the two *Adelphi Theatre* works is particularly suitable for the subject matter of the theatre stage as it functions to evoke the sensation of looking beyond the proscenium arch in actual playhouses. This design thus reinforces the intermedial relationship between the paper peepshow and theatre. The narrative of the play unfolds in a vertical direction since the panels depicting the scenes are placed on top of each other. As users pushed the movable panel(s) to the side, they literally opened up the peep-view into another realm, which is not unlike the change of scenes onstage in the real auditorium. This becomes particularly obvious in the Oxford copy. The first panel, the watercolour of the elephant, does not include many details about the play *Elephant of Siam*. Yet since it obscures the rest of the panels, it is as if it functions as an introductory image to the views behind it, which could raise users' anticipation, like the Coburg curtain. The mechanism attached to this panel reinforces this function. Rather than pasting the watercolour to the side of the frame to form a structure similar to that in the V&A copy, the user chose the more complicated mechanism with a slot. According to my experience of interacting with this work, it would be quite tricky to slide the slot open while holding the paper peepshow in the expanded position. To unlock the panel, I needed to flip the work on its back. For the nineteenth-century users, this action would effectively break their consumption of the work into two stages by forcing them to leave the world of the paper peepshow and open the panel first before they could proceed to view the rest of

[85] Works that have more than one peep-holes, which in the case of English paper peepshows, depict exclusively the Thames Tunnel except for the homemade work of the Burlington Arcade, also provide two peep-views. But since they do not enable any kind of transformation, they are not included in the discussion here. Chapter Four will address this design in detail in relation to the depiction of the Tunnel.

the work. In the scenario where the Oxford copy was used by more than one person, it would not be necessary for the person looking through the peep-hole to attend to the panel. Nonetheless, as s/he would need to signal the other person opening the bellows to move the slot, the process of viewing the narrative on the cut-out panels would still be briefly interrupted. This design thus also highlights the function of the panel—and the curtain in the playhouse—that stresses the idea that the world onstage, whether represented in the paper peepshow or the actual theatre, belonged to a different realm. Additionally, in both works, there is a panel that only depicts the proscenium arch. In the Oxford copy, it is placed between the two panels depicting the scenes in the play, instead of in front of both as in the V&A copy (Fig. 2.25). This change, although possibly caused by the incorrect assembly, nonetheless results in the effect that the users would see a back-scene framed in a stage design different from that in the previous panel, which could produce the effect of highlighting the climax of the play.

Thirdly, and most importantly, as users would need to manipulate these works actively, the corporealized element, especially the touch, in the consumption of the paper peepshow would be highlighted. It is particularly fitting for a work depicting scenes in the playhouse to have an interactive and embodied mechanism since the early nineteenth-century theatre was where active and corporealized spectatorship took place. While some have argued that audience of this period remained immobile on their seats in the playhouse and simply watched on, recent discussions in theatre studies have led to the current scholarly consensus that the interaction theatre-goers had with the stage was not inactive or restricted to the visual, but active and embodied.[86] The contribution of the imagination of spectators to the realization of the illusionary effect on stage, discussed above, is an important manifestation of the participatory spectatorship. Even though their attention may not always be fixed on the stage, the audience responded to the performance actively when they did direct their eyes to the front. Moreover, the content of the sophisticated and life-like spectacles on stage has also been re-evaluated. Instead of considered as discouraging thinking and thus exerting a stupefying influence, they are discovered of their potential to unleash creative forces in spectators, who might actively interpret or even recreate the narrative on stage in their mind.[87] Audience participation does not need

[86] Helen Freshwater, *Theatre & Audience* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 25.
[87] Melynda Nuss, *Distance, Theatre, and the Public Voice, 1750-1850* (New York, N.Y.; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 151-170. Nuss argues that some nineteenth-century critics have already discussed this potential of the spectacle in encouraging audience to use their imagination. See also Marvin A. Carlson, 'Theatre Audience and the Reading of Performance', in *Interpreting the Theatrical*

to only take place in the mind though, and the interactive spectatorship could also be corporealized. For example, it has been argued that spectators seldom just remained immobilized in their seats. Instead, their bodies were most likely to be live and not static, which enabled them to explore the stage design and performance from different angles, thereby realizing the embodied experience of theatre in this way.[88]

The design of the two copies of *Adelphi Theatre* augments the possibility for users to have a bodily engagement with these works significantly. Whereas in the basic structure of the paper peepshow, the corporealized experience comes from the subjective view and the role of the hands holding the expanded work, these two works expand the possibility of this active manipulation greatly, which, given their subject matters, can be considered as an evocation of the active and embodied theatre-going experience. Discussed in this context, the moveable panels offer not just the availability of having more than one peep-view, but also the opportunity of users creating their own narratives of the play represented, which can be understood as a form of affordances. By controlling the moveable panel(s), the nineteenth-century consumers could decide the pace with which they would like to experience the different peep-views or even disrupt the original order of the story since the panel(s) can be pushed to the side to reveal other scenes first. The intellectual interpretation of performances onstage in the playhouse was thus realized in a material and tactile way in *Adelphi Theatre*. Through this way, users undertook both the role of the audience and producer of the play in their interaction with the paper peepshows. Moreover, the experience offered by these two works can be understood as a form of producing embodied knowledge. The discussion here takes this notion out of the context of scholarly research and applies it to the everyday generation of knowledge, while maintaining the emphasis of this concept on situating 'intellectual and theoretical insights within the realm of the material world.'[89] Through manually interacting with the panels, users of these works could develop thoughts about the represented show or perhaps theatre production in general. They could thus be part of a kind of learning-by-doing practice that involved the active engagement of the body, instead of just the static eyes that merely looked on. In the Oxford copy, such embodied interaction with the paper peepshow and the play represented would have been more prominent. Since the user made one panel her/himself, s/he would have taken a further step in

Past: Essays in the Historiography of Performance, eds. Thomas Postlewait and Bruce A. McConachie (Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa Press, c1989), especially 85-86.

[88] Dominic Johnson, *Theatre & the Visual* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 25-30.

[89] Ellingson, 'Embodied Knowledge,' 244.

participating in the reinterpretation of the theatrical narrative. In addition, by putting in a watercolour that functions as a prelude to the actual play and giving it a different operation mechanism, the user did not repeat the idea of the movable panel in the V&A copy faithfully. Instead, s/he created a new role for the panel, thus bringing the level of interaction and production of knowledge through bodily experience to a different level.

Both copies of *Adelphi Theatre* demonstrate how the paper peepshow can be designed to enable a more interactive and embodied consumption experience while also bringing in more than one peep-view with an innovated structure. The published version of this work might be produced with the movable panel in order to make it particularly suitable for works portraying performances in the playhouse. However, compared to the toy theatre, which was the more dominant domestic pastime to represent theatre in this period, the experience offered by these paper peepshows would seem rather limited. At least two sets of toy theatre about *Elephant of Siam* were published, by J. L. Marks and W. West.[90] Both sets include a booklet detailing the acts of the play and uncut plates that would enable the staging of many more different scenes than ever possible in the paper peepshow (eight sheets by Marks and fourteen by West, which could be cut up and rearranged into potentially many more acts). Moreover, compared to the rough depiction in *Adelphi Theatre*, the toy theatre plates are executed with much higher quality. For instance, in the paper peepshow, in the panel showing the prince and his guards escaping prison, the posture of the figures looks stiff and awkward while the elephant appears more like a block of grey (Fig. 2.18). In contrast, in the production by West, the shading of the elephant effectively renders its volume and the attention paid to her head decoration highlights her royal status (Fig. 2.26). The figures appear natural, and their clothes are also differentiated so that the prince is easily recognizable.

The opportunities for an interactive and embodied experience offered by the paper peepshow would also pale when compared to what is made possible by the toy theatre. The process of cutting, pasting, colouring, and assembling the toy theatre is a part that is arguably as important as staging the performance for its users, and the

[90] J. L. Marks, *Marks's Minor Drama. The Elephant of Siam and the Fire Fiend: A Serio-Comic Indian Spectacle, in Three Acts* (London: 17 Artillery Street, Bishopsgate, c1829), THM/234/1/9/21; W. West, *West's Original Juvenile Drama. An Amusing Vehicle, for the Introduction of West's Scenes and Characters in the Highly Popular and Gorgeous Spectacle, called the Elephant of Siam, and the Fire Fiend* (London: 57 Wych Street, Strand, 1830), THM/234/1/24/27. Both at the Theatre and Performance Collections, Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

room for the exercise of creativity this medium offers is significantly larger than the one available in the paper peepshow.[91] Older adults were usually not involved in the making of the toy theatre and were perhaps less aware of the joy of the embodied engagement. Yet they would probably nonetheless notice the difference between the toy theatre and the *Adelphi Theatre* paper peepshows and have more appreciation for the former, which offered more delicate execution of the prints and possibilities for personal interpretation and participation. It would appear that while *Adelphi Theatre* incorporated innovations that were welcomed by consumers, it still failed to triumph when faced with other competitors on the market.

Conclusion

Exerting influence on the paper peepshow even before its appearance, theatre was closely connected with this medium in the initial period of its development in various ways. The aesthetics of the theatre stage exerted a fundamental impact on the structure of the paper peepshow, while the delight and wonder embedded in the consumption of this medium also shared similarities with the experience in the auditorium. In works that depict theatrical performances and the audience, the relationship between the two media is further complicated. In *Theatrorama*, different modes of vision that took place inside the playhouse are reinterpreted. The published version of *Adelphi Theatre* focuses on using an innovative structure to convey the atmosphere of the stage and the concept of embodied spectatorship, which is further developed in the alternative version designed by an amateur maker.

While these works offer excellent opportunities for more research about important features of the paper peepshow and the experience of its consumption, they did not appear to have gained much commercial success and remained a phenomenon of the early phase of the evolution of this medium. However, even the failures prove useful, as they form an essential part of our understanding of the development of the paper peepshow, as well as its position in the visual culture in England in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The fate of these works forms a contrast with that of the ones discussed in the next chapter. Depicting English inland spas and seaside resorts, these works first emerged around the mid-1820s too. Yet it appears that they were received much better on the market as they continued to be produced for much

[91] In 'Paper Dreams and Romantic Projections,' 43-62, Farr also discusses this exercise of creativity in the context of the nineteenth-century middle-class children as active agents in the development of consumerism. She argues that interacting with the toy theatre constituted an example where the active users helped challenge the mechanism of consumer culture that cultivated passive consumption.

longer and have survived in many more copies. It is the investigation of the possible factors that contributed to this commercial success that I will now turn to.

Chapter Three

The Remediation of Topographical Prints in Paper Peepshows

Represented in the very first English commercial paper peepshow in 1825, topography continued to be a popular choice of subject matter for at least fifteen years. Topographical scenes constitute one of the most depicted themes in English paper peepshows identified so far, ranking only after the Thames Tunnel. In total, thirteen published works representing this topic are found in archives (all but one were produced between 1825 and 1851), and three paper peepshows were made by amateurs (two of which appeared in the period discussed in this thesis).[1] As to be expected, London was a popular place to be depicted, and there are six such works produced between 1825 and 1830 (one of which homemade), and two further after 1851 (one of which homemade).[2] But what appears to be also well-liked as a theme for paper peepshows with topographical scenes were English inland spas and seaside resorts, as eight different works (including one homemade paper peepshow) have been identified. Produced in the period between 1828 and 1843, they represent Cheltenham, Brighton, and St. Leonards-on-Sea.

Such concentration on domestic watering resorts is unique to English paper peepshows, and this chapter will focus on investigating the possible reasons for this phenomenon, as well as the significance of this group of works to our understanding of the paper peepshow as a medium. While works portraying London are no less important, topographical images of the British capital, whether in traditional two-dimensional print format or as innovative media such as the panorama, have already been extensively written about. The span of more than twenty years between the works depicting London can indicate that the interest in this this city might not have always been sustained, even though visual representations of the capital in other forms

[1] See Appendix II and III for details. Note that the appendices combine topographical and landscape art as one category. In this chapter, the distinction between these two types of aesthetics as set out in Chapter One will continue to be used. As a result, the discussion here does not incorporate works that depict scenery primarily as an object with aesthetic value. This includes the work [*Sea View*], Anonymous, watercolour drawing, c1840, Gestetner 235, the V&A, and two works portraying scenes in Chile, *View from L'Angostura de Paine in Chile* and *Sea View*, both attributed to Maria Graham, watercolour drawing, c1835, (Gestetner 228 and Gestetner 229 respectively), at the V&A. See Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 22-24, for a discussion about the attribution to Graham. Also excluded from the investigation here is *The Wye. Newland House*, F. J. Durbin, 1819, which as discussed in Chapter One as a work that combines topographical and landscape art in its depiction. It is worth noting that all landscape art paper peepshows are homemade, which further indicates the publishers' preference for topographical images when landscape or townscape is represented in paper peepshows.

[2] See Appendix III for details.

continued to appear within this period. As interesting as this phenomenon is, the lack of archival sources means that investigation of it can produce more speculation than evidence-based conclusions. In comparison, paper peepshows depicting English watering resorts were published within about ten years, in a period that also witnessed the growth of the towns represented. There is also more information about the production of these works. In addition, there has been much less discussion about visual representations of inland spas and seaside towns, especially Cheltenham and St. Leonards-on-Sea. Given the scope of this chapter, it is more important to make an intervention in a field that has received less scholarly attention so far and leave the investigation of paper peepshows representing London for future research.

Due to the lack of archival evidence, it is impossible to determine whether local residents or tourists, or both, were the target consumers of these works of watering resorts. The connotation of 'travel' and 'traveller' differs significantly from that of 'tourism' and tourists,' especially in the context of tourism studies. Broadly defined, 'travel' and 'traveller' emphasise the intellectual engagement with the journey, whereas 'tourism' and 'tourists' put more focus on the banal and superficial spectatorship of sites.[3] As will become clear later, the nature of the practice of going to watering resorts in the second quarter of the nineteenth century was more closely associated with tourism, hence my choice of terminology. As discussed below, the design of the paper peepshow cut-out panels indicates conscious adoption of the discourse used in constructing tourist sites for visitors in this period. Moreover, since the three resort towns were popular destinations for tourists, it would be difficult to imagine that publishers did not consider this sizable group of potential consumers when they put their products on the market. Based on these factors, it is thus possible to argue that (potential) visitors to inland spas and seaside towns constituted at least one important type of the target costumers of the paper peepshows analysed here. To keep the discussion focused, this chapter will only examine these works in the context of their consumption by those not local to the watering resorts depicted.

The first section of this chapter proposes several possible factors that could have contributed to the production of a considerable number of English paper

[3] Of course, there is much complexity embedded in such terms. For discussions of this aspect, as well as factors that led to the increasingly greater difference between the connotation of a traveller and a tourist since the mid-eighteenth century, see Ian Ousby, *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel and the Rise of Tourism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 5-10; 18-19; James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 13-15.

peepshows depicting domestic watering resorts. Moving on to examine the design and content of these works, the chapter pays less attention to the way they could help authenticate the travelled experience. Rather, my investigation focuses on their interaction with topographical prints of the same subject matter, including freestanding prints and those bound in folios or as illustrations.[4] Here these works are used to demonstrate one of the ways the paper peepshow remediated two-dimensional prints in the nineteenth century. Obviously, in their function of depicting topographical images, these paper peepshows can be considered as a type of what Ann Bermingham refers to as landscape entertainment, as previously discussed. This impression becomes evident when the intermedial reference to theatre in this medium, examined in Chapter Two, is taken into consideration. The structure of the paper peepshow that alludes to stage design could have also reminded nineteenth-century users of the aesthetic of the theatre stage that transformed the landscape into pictorial art. Yet the significance of actual sceneries turning into images has already been interpreted extensively in scholarship in relation to various contexts, which can have relevance to the paper peepshow too.[5] Thus, instead of dwelling on this aspect, it is more important to recognise that far from being merely about visual simulation, as Bermingham suggests of landscape entertainments, works of watering resorts can also involve multiple senses and emotions in users' interaction with them. It is through these aspects that the remediation relationship between paper peepshows of watering resorts and topographical prints can be better understood.

The Preference for Watering Resorts

Whereas the depiction of topographical scenes in the paper peepshow was not a practice unique to works published in England, their exclusive focus on domestic watering resorts cannot be seen among other European productions of the same period. Although French works also have a focus on national topics, they depict mostly scenes from Paris or its environs. While there is one German paper peepshow depicting an inland spa, publishers showed much more interest in foreign places as subject matter.[6] Altogether seventeen non-German cities and regions from three continents have been

[4] In order to keep the text concise, this chapter will use 'topographical prints' to refer to topographical prints of English watering resorts, unless otherwise stated.
[5] Literature from art history and theatre studies, as discussed in the previous two chapters, are such examples.
[6] *Teleorama des Bades Niedernau*, Anonymous, hand-coloured etching, 11.2 x 13.5 x 50 (expanded), c1837, Gestetner 136, the V&A.

identified so far, focusing mainly on European towns but also including more distant places such as the Ottoman Empire, China, and the United States of America.[7]

The preference for domestic watering resorts in English paper peepshows was likely to be influenced primarily by strategic business considerations since the majority of the works representing this topic were produced commercially. Two factors could have contributed to this decision: the rise of English domestic tourism in the early nineteenth century, and the characteristics of watering resorts. As the historian Ian Ousby argues, the period between 1750 and 1850 was particularly crucial for the development of domestic tourism in England.[8] This was the time when the shift of the interest of tourists from international to English sites happened.[9] In the eighteenth century, foreign destinations were favoured over those at home, with the Grand Tour, the compulsory part of the young aristocrats' education, as the best-known example.[10] The exploration of England only started to gain attention in the second half of the eighteenth century, while the wars on the Continent during the early decades of the nineteenth century further contributed to the re-direction of interest to English sites.[11] While the previously mentioned increasing popularity of picturesque tourism is most often discussed as the prominent example of this new trend for domestic sites, the rise of tourism in cities, influenced by the English urban renaissance in the eighteenth century and the subsequent process of urbanism, was also a part of this shift.[12]

Interestingly, among the various English places to choose from, most of the publishers decided for watering resorts, a very distinct type of tourist destination. The role of the paper peepshow as a fancy article might be a contributing factor to this

[7] Here the count of seventeen only takes into consideration of works intended primarily to showcase foreign lands and does not include works about historical events that took place outside of Germany, which might also include the depiction of unfamiliar landscape or townscape. For detailed comments on German works of foreign cities and regions, see Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 36.
[8] Ousby, *The Englishman's England*. See also Benjamin Colbert, 'Introduction: Home Tourism,' in *Travel Writing and Tourism in Britain and Ireland*, ed. Benjamin Colbert (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1-12, for a more recent account.
[9] Ousby, *The Englishman's England*, 9-10.
[10] Ibid., 9.
[11] Ibid., 9-10; Susan Barton, 'Travel Writing, Guides and Journals,' in *Travel and Tourism in Britain, 1700-1914, vol 1. Travel and Destinations*, ed. Susan Barton (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), 23.
[12] For discussions of the picturesque and Romantic tourism, see for example Ousby, *The Englishman's England*, 130-194; Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape, Aesthetics and Tourism, 1760-1800* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989). On the rise of domestic urban tourism, see Katy Layton-Jones, *Beyond the Metropolis: The Changing Image of Urban Britain, 1780-1880* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 11-14. The English urban renaissance is the term used by Peter Borsay to describe the changes undergone in the culture and society in English provincial towns between 1660 and 1770. For details, see Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

decision, as this characteristic would have matched well with features of inland spas and seaside towns. While the practice of using mineral water for its medical properties had been in place in England for hundreds of years, spa visiting as a privileged activity for royalty, aristocrats, and the landed gentry only gained significant popularity in the 1700s.[13] The health benefits constituted just one part of the reason for going to the inland resorts, as the element of leisure and pleasure was also an important element of the motivation. Spas functioned not only as a place where the upper-class visitors could recuperate their physical well-being but also as alternative locations to London for their social season, as towns that served as a new platform for recreation.[14] Beginning in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, the proportion of middle-class visitors started to increase. Nonetheless, upper-class society continued to hold its presence and impact on spa towns.[15] By the mid-nineteenth century, inland resorts had been transformed from tourist destinations into residential towns.

In comparison with the development of spas, the rise of English seaside resorts started slightly later, only in the second half of the eighteenth century. Although the origin of sea bathing lies in the traditional practice of ordinary inhabitants by the sea, the appreciation for the ocean only began much later after the establishment of sea bathing practice.[16] Long feared for its wild waves and regarded as a threat that could engulf human civilisation, the seascape only started to be considered as approachable from the eighteenth century onwards, while positive associations with the sea, which included the health benefits of sea bathing, also began to form in this period.[17] Beginning in the 1750s, new perceptions of the coast like these contributed to the transformation of many seaside towns into a new type of fashionable destination of recreation first for the upper classes and then for the middle classes, and the design of

[13] Phyllis Hembry, *The English Spa, 1560-1815: A Social History* (London: Athlone Press; Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1990), 1-3; 111.
[14] J. A. R. Pimlott, *The Englishman's Holiday* (London: Faber and Faber, 1947), 23-27. In Peter Borsay, 'From Bath to Poundbury: The Rise, Fall and Rise of Polite Urban Space, 1700-2000,' in *Cities in the World, 1500-2000: Papers Given at the Conference of the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology, April 2002*, eds. Adrian Green and Roger Leech (Leeds: Maney, 2006) 97-115, Borsay argues that inland spas can be considered as a type of towns that were developed in the eighteenth century as new provincial centres for the fashionable classes and gradually declined in the nineteenth century. While his argument is convincing, it addresses very different issues from the ones discussed here and is therefore not engaged with in-depth here. See also Phyllis Hembry, *British Spas from 1815 to the Present Day: A Social History*, eds. and completed by Leonard W. Cowie and Evelyn E. Cowie (London: Athlone, 1997), 2, for an argument similar to that of Borsay's.
[15] John K. Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History, 1750-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1983), 156.
[16] Walton, *The English Seaside*, 10.
[17] See Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea: The Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World, 1750-1840*, trans. Jocelyn Phelps (Berkeley; Los Angeles, Calif.: University of California Press, 1994), 1-53 for an extensive discussion of this in the context of West Europe.

these coastal resorts followed that of inland spas very closely.[18] The trajectory of coastal towns was similar to that of their inland counterparts, and starting from the early nineteenth century, the former gradually replaced the latter as the preferred watering resorts.[19] In the second half of the nineteenth century, seaside towns did not become residential like spas but sustained their popularity as tourist attractions as they adapted themselves to changes brought by the mass tourism that started in this period.[20]

For the upper and middle classes, the provision of recreation at watering resorts was at least as important as that of health recuperation. The various venues that specialised in enabling activities of high-status leisure, including assembly rooms, circulating libraries, walks and squares, were the standard and arguably the most popular facilities in these towns.[21] Major resorts also often had the institution of the Master of Ceremonies, which ensured that those who participated in these activities obeyed the codes set out by the privileged society.[22] Considered in this context, visiting watering resorts functioned as a non-material expression and confirmation of one's status and capital—in other words, a form of conspicuous consumption, since only those from the more affluent parts of society would know the appropriate manners and behaviours for these towns.[23] In addition, the leisure activities commonly practised in watering resorts would offer opportunities for the display of luxury goods that symbolized a high social standing.[24]

As discussed in Chapter One, the paper peepshow was marketed as a type of fancy article, which possessed little utilitarian value but functioned effectively as a means of light entertainment and a status symbol. For its middle-class users, its

[18] Walton, *The English Seaside*, 12. See page 16 in the same volume for a discussion of the major differences between these two types of resorts. Although as Peter Borsay details in 'Health and Leisure Resorts, 1700-1840,' in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, vol. 2*, ed. Peter Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, c2008), 789, despite the differences between these two types of resorts, they should be considered more as complementary rather than oppositional as they have much more in common.
[19] Walton, *The English Seaside*, 18-19.
[20] The transformation of English seaside resorts after the 1850s is beyond the scope of the discussion of this chapter. For a detailed analysis, see for example Walton, *The English Seaside*, 156; 162. Although the railway is often considered as a key factor that brought changes to seaside resorts and holiday, in the same volume, 23, Walton cautions against putting too much emphasis on the impact of railways. See also Pimlott, *The Englishman's Holiday*, 74-76; 78; 90; Cara Aitchison, Nicola E. MacLeod and Stephen J. Shaw, *Leisure and Tourism Landscapes: Social and Cultural Geographies* (London; New York, N.Y: Routledge, 2000), 30, for a similar argument.
[21] Walton, *The English Seaside*, 12; 112-113; Peter Borsay, 'A Room with a View: Visualising the Seaside, c1750-1914,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 23 (2013): 179-180.
[22] Walton, *The English Seaside*, 12; 112-113.
[23] Borsay, 'A Room with a View,' 179-180.
[24] Ibid., 179.

purchase thus carried a connotation similar to that of the practice of visiting watering resorts, as both were forms of displaying and confirming their wealth and taste. Producing a homemade paper peepshow could have a similar significance as well. As previously mentioned, making a work would require leisure time only affordable by the well-off. In the case of the only English amateur work of a watering resort, *Wonders of Cheltenham*, the use of the prestigious textile muslin could also signify the maker's wealth.[25] The buying or making of paper peepshows and going to watering resorts constituted a display of one's conformity to the culture of gentility too since they served as indications of a person's knowledge of the appropriate forms of entertainment for her/his social status. It can hence be argued that these two expressions of one's social standing converged in one in paper peepshows portraying inland spas or seaside resorts. The possession of one such item could simultaneously demonstrate the owner's association with, if not personal participation in, the practice of resort visiting, as well as his or her awareness of the latest fancy articles.

This convergence of two forms of conspicuous consumption might be one reason why it appears that watering resorts were favoured as the subject matter of paper peepshows with topographical imageries. In fact, the connection between fancy article and watering resorts had already been established in some inland spas or seaside towns. In the guidebook for Cheltenham, for example, it is written that in the New Market House on the high street of the town, there was 'a neat and very elegant range of shops, in which fancy goods are principally sold.'[26] A similar situation can be observed in Brighton, which was allegedly a town whose business 'consists chiefly in the manufacture of fancy articles.'[27] The selling of them was also common here. For instance, many directories and guidebooks record how the interiors of the towers of the Royal Chain Pier were 'neatly fitted up for the sale of books, prints, confectionery, and other fancy articles.'[28] It is possible that producers of paper peepshows were well aware of this association between this particular category of goods and watering resorts and used it purposefully in the design of their works.

The prestigious nature of the resorts and the sites in these towns chosen to be depicted provides evidence for this argument. Between the 1820s and 1840s,

[25] *Wonders of Cheltenham*, Anonymous, c1828.
[26] Samuel Young Griffith, *Griffith's New Historical Description of Cheltenham and Its Vicinity*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Cheltenham; London: Longman, Rus, Orme, Brown & Green, 1826), 15.
[27] John Bruce, *The History of Brighton with the Latest Improvements*, 4th ed. (Brighton: John Bruce; London: John van Voorst, 1835), x.
[28] *The Watering Places of Great Britain and Fashionable Directory* (London: Joseph Robins, 1833), 22.; John Wallis, *Brighton as It Is* (Brighton: John Wallis, 1834), 19.

Cheltenham, Brighton and St. Leonards-on-Sea were some of the most popular and fashionable English watering resorts. Located in south-west England in Gloucestershire, Cheltenham already had its first mineral spring, which became the Old Well, discovered in the early-eighteenth century, and the Old Well Walk, a tree-lined avenue leading to the spring, was laid out in 1739.[29] The Walk was one of Cheltenham's first walks and rides intended for fashionable promenade.[30] But it was only at the end of the century that Cheltenham began to develop into a spa resort with national importance, thanks to the royal patronage of George III of the Old Well in 1788.[31] Its accelerated growth started at the turn of the century and culminated around the 1820s and 1830s.[32] During this period, Cheltenham was one of the best-loved inland spas of England and had together with Leamington Spa replaced Bath and Tunbridge Wells and became a model for lesser spas.[33]

The history of Brighton follows a similar path, although in the early decades of the nineteenth century it occupied a much more prominent position among watering resorts compared to the other two towns. Dr Richard Russell, who happened to be a resident in Brighton in the mid-eighteenth century, played an instrumental role in the development of this town. By advocating the medical benefits of sea bathing with his treatise *A Dissertation Concerning the Use of Sea Water in Diseases of the Glands*, he effectively endorsed the sea bathing resource of Brighton and contributed to the quick evolution of the town from a fishing village to a new star among watering resorts.[34] With the patronage of the Prince Regent and later George IV, its development was phenomenal. The building of the Brighton Royal Chain Pier was also part of it. Constructed in response to the need to offer the Dieppe packets a landing place, the potential of the Chain Pier as a venue for pleasure, especially fashionable promenade, was discovered.[35] It soon overtook the position of the Old Steine as the central location for social interaction and conspicuous display and became one of the icons of Brighton in the 1820s.[36]

St. Leonards-on-Sea in East Sussex on the south-east coast of England came to the scene of watering resorts relatively late. In the late 1820s, the architect James

[29] Hembry, *The English Spa*, 179-181.
[30] Ibid., 180.
[31] Ibid., 191-192.
[32] Ibid., 199-201; Hembry, *British Spas from 1815 to the Present Day*, 36.
[33] Hembry, *British Spas from 1815 to the Present Day*, 8.
[34] Martin Easdown, *Piers of Sussex* (Stroud: History, 2009), 63.
[35] Ibid., 63.
[36] John Ford and Jill Ford, *Images of Brighton* (Richmond-upon-Thames: Saint Helena Press, 1981), 29; 41.

Burton, who played a crucial role in the construction of many well-known architectural and urban design projects, most famously Regent's Park, decided to build his own coastal town in Regency style near Hastings. While Burton had intended the new town primarily as a prestigious location for the upper classes who would stay for long-term, it actually differed little from the other two resorts and was also popular with middle-class visitors.[37] Although only finished in 1828, St. Leonards-on-Sea quickly attracted much attention and was regarded by nineteenth-century observers as potentially more desirable than Brighton.[38] One of the highlights of the town was the seaward avenue, the Marina. Lined with buildings in the grand and elegant Regency architectural style, the Marina was considered by one contemporary as 'one of the finest [esplanade] in Europe.'[39]

Not only did commercial producers and the amateur maker of paper peepshows selected some of the most fashionable resorts as their subject matters, but they also chose those landmarks that had a strong association with the privileged classes. The homemade work *Wonders of Cheltenham* portrays the Cheltenham Old Well Walk, the symbol of exclusive leisure in this town. While the choice of the site might be a matter of personal interest, commercial paper peepshows portraying these places are more likely to be the result of careful business consideration targeted at the interest of their middle-class customers in sites like these. Around 1829, a work of the Brighton Royal Chain Pier appeared on the market. Named *Interior View of the Brighton Royal Chain Pier*, it depicts the view of Brighton from the Pier Head (Fig. 3.1).[40] Subsequent paper peepshows of Cheltenham and Brighton followed the example of these two in terms of the landmarks represented. Around 1832, the local artist and publisher Henry Lamb produced two works, both titled *The Cheltenhamorama, a View of the Old Well Walk* (hereafter *Cheltenhamorama*), also portraying the way leading to the Old Well (Fig. 3.2).[41] The Royal Chain Pier is repeatedly featured in later paper peepshows too, albeit depicted from different

[37] J. Manwaring Baines, *Burton's St. Leonards* (Hastings: Hastings Museum, 1956) 9-11. See also Elizabeth Nathaniels, 'James and Decimus Burton's Regency New Town, 1827-37,' *The Georgian Group Journal* 4 (2012): 162, where she argues that St. Leonards-on-Sea was the example of 'a bourgeois society with aristocratic yearnings'.
[38] *The Watering Places of Great Britain*, 104-105.
[39] J. D. Parry, *An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Coast of Sussex* (Brighton: Wright & Son, 1833), 239. See also Baines, *Burton's St. Leonards*, 21-22 for more details on the building of the town.
[40] *Interior View of Brighton Royal Chain Pier*, Anonymous, hand-coloured aquatint, c1829, Gestetner 215, the V&A.
[41] *The Cheltenhamorama, a View of the Old Well Walk*, Henry Lamb, c1832 (two works). Since these two works look very similar, I will refer to the two under one title in the rest of the chapter, unless stated otherwise.

perspectives, in *A Peep at the Pier at Brighton* produced around 1830s (view of the Pier from the promenade in front of it) and *Telescopic View of the Chain Pier, Brighton* sold by D. H. Greenin in the early 1840s (looking out at the sea from the entrance of the Pier).[42] Only one published paper peepshow about St. Leonards-on-Sea, produced around 1838, has been identified, and there is also a watercolour version of it, possibly made by the publisher to test the design.[43] Similar to works about Cheltenham and Brighton, these two paper peepshows also portray the site symbolic of recreational activities of the upper and middle classes, which is the boulevard Marina, flanked by famous buildings of the town and leading all the way to the coastline.

The choice to focus on the sites of fashionable promenade in Cheltenham, Brighton and St. Leonards-on-Sea might also result from the fact that these landmarks exemplified the interest in the aesthetics of the harmonious combination of the urban with manmade nature. This discourse was popular in the nineteenth century, and it emphasized that nature, on the condition of it being arranged by humans to conform to certain aesthetic criteria, should be woven harmoniously into cities and towns.[44] It was a crucial concept for the design of watering resorts. In both inland spas and seaside towns, modern facilities and architecture of urban design were an essential part of their development.[45] At the same time, nature also had a prominent presence, albeit in an artificially manipulated form. The cultivation of green space in and around inland spas, which constituted an important part of their planning, made sure that nature that conformed to certain aesthetic concepts could be enjoyed alongside urban settings.[46] The tree-lined Old Well Walk can be considered as a manifestation of this design concept. In seaside towns, the sea by the coastal area was also not appreciated for its untamed natural beauty, but appropriated into a bathing place by the leisure

[42] *A Peep at the Pier at Brighton*, Anonymous, c1830s; *Telescopic View of the Chain Pier, Brighton*, Anonymous and Daniel Harding Greenin, c1842-1843.
[43] *St. Leonards on Sea Sussex*, Anonymous, hand-coloured lithograph, c1838, Gestetner 234; [*St. Leonards on Sea*], Anonymous, watercolour, c1838, Gestetner 233. Both at the V&A. See Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 196-197, for the deduction about the watercolour version being a publisher's copy. Hyde also points out that since the watercolour version contains fewer dates regarding royal patronage of St. Leonards-on-Sea, it was probably made first.
[44] Michael Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal: Anglo-American Images of Landscape* (London: Routledge, 1994), 141. This discourse belonged to a wider concept that concerned the construction of the ideal image of nature, which was gaining popularity in the period discussed in this chapter. For scholarship on this discourse, see for example Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987); Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal*; Aitchison, MacLeod and Shaw, *Leisure and Tourism Landscapes*, 50-55; 70.
[45] Peter Borsay, 'Town or Country? British Spas and the Urban-Rural Interface,' *Journal of Tourism History* 4, no. 2 (August 2012): 156-158.
[46] Ibid., 159-161; 168-169.

facilities and absorbed into the urban space.[47] As one contemporary observed, the Pier is 'one of the most agreeable walks in the town' not only because of its modern appearance but also since one can enjoy the sea 'without the danger or difficulty of going out in an open boat.'[48] In St. Leonards-on-Sea, the juxtaposition of elegant Regency urban architecture and the tamed seascape could be observed on the seaward avenue Marina. Although no comment on this combination has been identified yet, it is imaginable that this scenery would also appeal to visitors (Fig. 3.3).

For publishers of watering resort paper peepshows, they might have speculated that representing the harmonious combination of the urban and nature could be commercially viable as they observed the performance of other works on the market. As the first work that featured topographical imageries, *The Areaorama, a View in the Regent's Park* (hereafter *A View in the Regent's Park*) depicts Regent's Park, which embodied the idea of the urban picturesque, an aesthetic that shared the core concept with the design principles of watering resorts.[49] It appears that this work was commercially successful, as five years after its first publication, it was still included in the stocklist of S. & J. Fuller.[50] It is possible that this success was perceived as an indication of the business potential of representing scenes of manipulated nature in the urban in paper peepshows, and have contributed to publishers focusing on sites in watering resorts that also exemplified this concept.

Striving for Immediacy: The Remediation of Topographical Prints

The considerable number of paper peepshows of watering resorts produced can indicate that these products proved to be commercially viable. Apart from the suitable subject matter, the fact that these objects remediated topographical prints could also be a factor that contributed to the success of the former on the market. As a medium that uses the same material, production technology, and aesthetic vocabulary as topographical prints, the paper peepshow can be considered as an object that remediates these prints as it represents spa and seaside towns in a novel format. Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin outline three broad categories of remediation. The type that denotes a rivalry relationship, 'remediation as reform,' is particularly

[47] Zoë Kinsley, 'Beside the Seaside: Mary Morgan's Tour to Milford Haven, in the Year 1791,' in *Travel Writing and Tourism in Britain and Ireland* (see note 8), 32-33; John Hassan, *The Seaside, Health and Environment in England and Wales since 1800* (Aldershot: Ashgate, c2003), 24.
[48] *Holidays at Brighton; Or, Sea-side Amusements* (London: Darton & Harvey, 1834), 4-10.
[49] *The Areaorama, a View in the Regent's Park*, S. & J. Fuller, 1825. For discussions on the urban picturesque and Regent's Park as a manifestation of this aesthetic, see Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology*, 167-168; Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal*, 141-145.
[50] See Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 176 for information about the stocklist.

relevant here, and it describes how the newer medium modifies the older by offering novel experience previously not available.[51] It can be argued that in the nineteenth century, these abovementioned two media were in the rivalry remediation relationship in their function of depicting watering resorts. It needs to be noted, however, that apart from this shared role, the two media differ in many other aspects. A form of nineteenth-century print capital, topographical prints often involve an interplay of text and image, and concern primarily the visual, while as a fancy article, the paper peepshow is a medium whose consumption was as much about touching as about looking. Hence, although the argument here focuses on how the representation of spa and seaside towns in the paper peepshow could have been considered by customers as more appealing than in topographical prints, it does not consider the former as a medium that was presented as an improved version of the latter in general.

Of course, it is impossible to know whether all producers of commercial English paper peepshows of watering resorts designed their works deliberately with topographical prints in mind as a rival. Nonetheless, based on various archival and pictorial evidence, it can be argued that at least two publishers probably intentionally recycled the content from topographical prints for their paper peepshows. It was likely to be a strategy to draw attention to the rivalry between the two media and the advantages brought by the former.[52] These works are the two *Cheltenhanorama* published by Henry Lamb and *Interior View of Brighton Royal Chain Pier*. The case with Lamb's works is quite straightforward. An artist who also lithographed prints himself, Lamb opened his first shop, a fancy repository, latest by 1824, at 98 High Street, Cheltenham.[53] Around the same time, he published the first of his two sets of prints *Views of Cheltenham and Its Vicinity*, consisting of at least seventeen views.[54] As his business continued to grow, by 1825 Lamb had already opened a second repository right by the Royal Well (which can be seen in the print by Cruikshank, Fig. 3.4), and moved his main premises to 421 High Street in Cheltenham (both addresses are shown on one of the paper peepshows) by the next year (Fig. 3.5).[55] He published the second set of prints of the same title in 1833, with fewer works included.[56] Both

[51] Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation*, 59-60.
[52] The practice of recycling imageries in topographical prints in other media was not unusual in this period. See for example, Layton-Jones, *Beyond the Metropolis*, 14-15, for accounts of ceramics with topographical images.
[53] Blake, *Views of Cheltenham 1786-1860*, 5; 20.
[54] Ibid., 20.
[55] Ibid., 25.
[56] Ibid., 24-25.

sets contain an image of the Old Well (Fig. 3.6), which has a composition very similar to the peep-view of the two *Cheltenhamorama* (Fig. 3.2), showing people promenading on the tree-flanked avenue extending into the distance towards the church.

The similarities are probably the result of a conscious choice of reworking the print into the two paper peepshows, instead of a coincidence. Many factors could have contributed to Lamb making this decision. As one of the most popular inland spas of the 1820s and 1830s, Cheltenham received a great number of fashionable visitors from London, who might also bring with them information about the latest developments in visual culture, including the emergence of the paper peepshow. In addition, the first set of Lamb's prints was printed in London, which gave the new concept of the paper peepshow another channel to travel from the capital to the province.[57] Access to this new medium would thus have been no problem for Lamb. Moreover, as previously discussed, since when he closed his business in 1834, the auction list showed that he had many fancy articles in stock in his repository, Lamb would have probably been aware of the commercial potential of this category of objects, to which the paper peepshow belonged. The combination of Lamb's expertise, his connection with London, as well as the scope of his business, would have thus provided the perfect environment that inspired him to convert an existing print into two paper peepshows.

The case with *Interior View of Brighton Royal Chain Pier*, however, is much more complicated. While the work bears no publisher's imprint, the peep-view is strikingly similar to a print by John Bruce by the same title, as part of his *Select Views of Brighton* (Fig. 3.1 and Fig. 3.7). The print set was first produced in 1827, with subsequent editions in 1828, 1829 and 1833. While numerous visual representations of the Pier were produced in this period, many of which with the same composition as the one adopted in the paper peepshow, none of them have the same level of similarity as the print by Bruce.[58] The illustration in John Wallis's *Brighton As It Is*, 1834 edition, is the only that could also have been the possible inspiration for the paper peepshow. However, closer scrutiny makes clear that it is unlikely to be the appropriated print either (Fig. 3.8).

Whereas the estimated date of the publication of *Interior View of Brighton Royal Chain Pier* is the end of the 1820s, around the same time when Bruce's work

[57] Ibid., 20.
[58] See Ford and Ford, *Images of Brighton*, Gallery 294-316, for a survey of the prints depicting the Pier Head, which is the angle taken by the cut-out panels in *Interior View of Brighton Royal Chain Pier*.

appeared, Wallis's print was published quite a few years later.[59] While this date could be inaccurate, a comparison between the content of Bruce and Wallis's print can provide more persuasive evidence. Both images show pretty much the same view as seen in the paper peepshow—the Pier Head with the signature towers and the jetty extending into the back. Fashionably dressed visitors gather in front of the Pier to enjoy the view of the sea, while in the background there is the outline of buildings on the coastline. Yet two groups of figures in the paper peepshow are clearly derived from Bruce's print. On the first cut-out panel, on the left in the foreground, the couple with their back to us—a woman wearing a pink outfit and holding the arm of a man with top hat and brown coat—encounters a man in military uniform. This group of three can also be seen in the work from Bruce, although the arrangement of the figures is now in reverse. On the same panel on the right, the man in top hat and blue coat with a walking stick is almost certainly the same person who is also in Bruce's print in approximately the same position, although the person speaking to this man is now different. In addition, the paper peepshow and the work from Bruce have exactly the same title, which is a phrase that appears in none of the other topographical images of the Chain Pier.[60]

Given the similarities in the composition, arrangement of figures and the title, it is possible to suggest that the print by Bruce and the paper peepshow were related to each other. Some indirect evidence can further support this hypothesis. Like Lamb, Bruce would have been familiar with the category fancy articles and their commercial potentials too, even though he did not run a fancy repository. It was in his guidebook to Brighton that the particularly prosperous business of fancy article manufacturing in the town, discussed above, was mentioned. He was also known to have advertised his prints for sales from the Chain Pier's tower, where many shops selling fancy articles were also located, and a paper peepshow would have fit well into the stock of goods there.[61] As Brighton was also under the influence of the London print world—for example, Rudolf Ackermann, the influential London publisher, set up a local branch in Brighton in the 1830s—it is imaginable that information about the paper peepshow also found ways to travel to this town.[62] In addition, Bruce was a very versatile artist-

[59] Due to accessibility issue, I was only able to see the 1833 version of Bruce's prints in the archive. Yet the same print of the Pier Head was in the 1828 and 1829 versions already.
[60] See Ibid., 289-291, for titles of the prints depicting the Pier Head.
[61] Ibid., 71.
[62] Andy Grant and Steve Myall, *Victorian Chroniclers of Brighton* (Brighton: Regency Society of Brighton and Hove, 2017), 79.

publisher, and he advertised himself in the directories as an engraver, an artist, and a publisher.[63] He also produced a few illustrated guides for Brighton, and would thus be no stranger to topographical images in formats other than the conventional print.[64] Familiar with the production process of topographical prints and other forms of visualisations of Brighton, Bruce would be in a good position to have access to information about novel trends in the print market, while also having the propensity to engage with prints of Brighton beyond the traditional formats.

Whether by design or not, the relationship of remediation between the paper peepshow and topographical prints can be observed in the works discussed in this chapter. It appears that at least one person was convinced that the former medium could be received better by customers than the latter. Lamb sold the first of his two sets of *Views of Cheltenham and Its Vicinity*, which contains at least seventeen views, at seven shillings and sixpence, exactly the same price as that of one of the *Cheltenhamorama* paper peepshows, which can only provide one peep-view (Fig. 3.9).[65] Why would customers be expected to be willing to pay the same amount of money for much fewer views? One important reason might be that publishers believed that the paper peepshow could be considered by consumers as a more attractive means of representing watering resorts than topographical prints. This could have something to do with the level of immediacy achieved in these two media. In their conceptualization of the framework of remediation, Bolter and Grusin argue that immediacy and hypermediacy constitute the double sides of this process within and between media.[66] They theorize that while in any given medium, the logic of immediacy strives to erase the medium's presence so that we feel as if we are actually in the presence of the represented object, hypermediacy makes visible and even highlights the process of mediation.[67] Despite their different agendas, immediacy and hypermediacy are both manifestations of the desire to achieve the real—not in the metaphysical sense but defined in terms of what the viewer/user experiences as authentic.[68] In the context of immediacy, this means that our experience of the represented object is considered real since the fact of mediation is erased; while for

[63] Ford and Ford, *Images of Brighton*, 135.
[64] Apart from the guide referred to in note 45, Bruce also published *Bruce's History of Brighton and Stranger's Guide* (Brighton: John Bruce, 1828).
[65] Blake, *Views of Cheltenham 1786-1860*, 20.
[66] Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation*, 5.
[67] Ibid., 5-6.
[68] Ibid., 53.

hypermediacy, the real is achieved as we acknowledge the mediation process and take our experience of the medium itself as something authentic.[69]

Bolter and Grusin argue that while the double logic co-exists in all media, immediacy nonetheless occupies the dominant role, as can be demonstrated by the development of western visual representation since at least the Renaissance.[70] Users of different media also desire a higher level of immediacy, a wish that is most clearly manifested in the process of a newer medium remediating an older one. Both scholars contend that the new needs to justify its existence by proving its ability to fill an unkept promise of the old, which very often is about a lack of immediacy.[71] While they also observe that in some media, such as nineteenth-century optical devices including the kaleidoscope and the stereoscope, hypermediacy, instead of immediacy, is primarily responsible for the appeal of the media, they regard this phenomenon as an exception.[72] The fact that these devices ultimately lost their popularity and even became forgotten is, according to them, the evidence that the desire for hypermediacy is only temporary, whereas achieving immediacy is what people always wish for.[73]

Although the double logic of remediation is a useful theoretical concept, it can also lead to problems in research. As discussed in the Introduction, this framework can result in the construction of a linear teleology of media development. Moreover, Irina Rajewsky points out that although the framework of immediacy and hypermediacy might be relevant to all media, because the concept is rather broad, applying it to the analysis of the interaction between media can 'impl[y] a tendency to level out significant differences . . . between different media with their respective materiality.'[74] Reflecting on these critiques, I stress that the paper peepshow should not be considered as an improved version of prints, and that remediation only takes place in relation to one function that the two media share. At the same time, although the analysis here focuses on immediacy, it is but one part of my examination of the paper peepshow as a medium, as well as its relationship with other media. In addition to the discussion here, investigation of issues such as the embodied vision and the

[69] Ibid., 53; 70-71.
[70] Ibid., 24; 34.
[71] Ibid., 60.
[72] Ibid., 37-38. When initially invented, the stereoscope was intended as a device that would draw attention to the mechanism of binocular and can be considered as a medium that makes explicit the process of mediation. Yet as will be discussed in Chapter Five, the commercial stereoscope was marketed as a device that could effectively erase the presence of the medium. The experience of it was thus actually also about the achievement of immediacy.
[73] Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation*, 37-38.
[74] Rajewsky, 'Intermediality,' 64.

tactile experience related to the paper peepshow in other chapters can contribute to a multi-perspective understanding of this medium.

In addition, Michelle Henning argues that by treating changes in media as the result of their inherent properties or tendencies, such as the pursuit of a higher level of immediacy, Bolter and Grusin fail to discuss that transformations are actually social and cultural ones that result from deliberate construction.[75] She demonstrates one such construction by theorizing the production of the obsolescent media, using the interaction between digital and chemical photography as an example. Henning argues that in order for one medium to replace the other, it is important to first set up a 'field of equivalence' between them—in other words, the two media have to be established as equal in their use; this is also the case with digital and conventional photography, even though the technologies involved in the two differ in fundamental ways.[76] After consumers became convinced of the equivalence between the functions of the two media, digital photography was then marketed as having added values, and chemical photography was presented as the old medium in comparison.[77] Henning argues that this process of digital photography replacing chemical photography demonstrates that the latter did not become old or outdated by default, but was made so through the marketing of the former. In other words, while the fading of newness in a medium occurs naturally with the passage of time, the process of it becoming an old medium is more a matter of calculated construction.[78]

Henning's conceptualisation is very helpful for my adoption of the notion of immediacy here. In the function of depicting watering resorts, the paper peepshow can be considered a newer medium compared to topographical prints. Taking inspiration from her stress on the social factors involved in the transformation of media from new to old, the analysis here argues that the impression of immediacy experienced in using the paper peepshow comes only partly from its inherent structure. Much more important are producers' careful design that explores the potential of the formal features of this medium in the hope of obtaining more commercial gains. As will be discussed, there are also examples where these characteristics are not sufficiently taken advantage of. The appropriation of prints in the paper peepshows of Cheltenham or Brighton can be considered as a means of establishing the field of equivalence. When the two media depict the same scene, it becomes much easier to

[75] Henning, 'New Lamps for Old Oil,' 49-50.
[76] Ibid., 51-53.
[77] Ibid., 53.
[78] Ibid., 53.

demonstrate that the paper peepshow is equally capable of representing the same content as topographical prints. In other works, although their design does not derive from a specific image, their depiction shares with prints a similar aesthetic and composition, and both media have the same material and production technique. It can thus also be argued that these aspects could contribute to the two media appearing equivalent in their function of representing watering resorts. While this equivalence might not have always been established intentionally, the fact of its existence means that as publishers started to present their paper peepshows as objects that can provide more immediacy, these works would appear effectively as a medium with added values in comparison to topography prints, which were as a result constructed as the old medium.

In my use of the theory of immediacy, I seek to expand the definition given by Bolter and Grusin. In their original argument, the erasure or reduction of traces of mediation constitutes immediacy, as this allows the viewer to be brought closer to the scene represented. However, this argument focuses almost exclusively on the visual and does not pay enough attention to the other senses or emotions, which also constitute essential aspects of our experience of objects or events.[79] When media reproduce, stimulate or evoke aspects such as the sound or feelings associated with what is represented, the distance between it and the viewer can also be reduced, which is another form in which immediacy can be achieved.

This type of immediacy concerning emotions and sentiments, the realization of which does not necessarily involve the denial of the presence of the medium, is the focus of the following discussion. As the prints that inspired the two *Cheltenhamorama* works and *Interior View of Brighton Royal Chain Pier* are identified, they will be used as the primary examples below when the paper peepshow is discussed in contrast with topographical prints. Neither these prints nor paper peepshows of watering resorts can erase traces of mediation very effectively. In the prints by Lamb and Bruce, linear perspective is the main technique used to reduce the impression of mediation. The trees alongside the Old Well Walk and the towers of the Pier form orthogonal lines that can create a sense of depth and space. It can generate the impression that the surface of the image is dissolved to encourage viewers to project themselves into the depicted scene. The figures portrayed in both prints, with

[79] This is also the case when the two scholars discuss examples of immediacy in media. However, in the analysis of hypermediacy, the non-visual aspects are given more attention. See for example Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation*, 71-72.

their back facing us, can function as surrogate figures for the viewers, thereby drawing them into the picture more effectively. However, these prints are executed in a gestural way without many fine details, which is a style that does not conform to the visual conventions of nineteenth-century realism and shows clear marks of representation. In paper peepshows, the three-dimensional structure is responsible for realizing the perspective in a material way. For the nineteenth-century users, since they would experience an immersive sensation when looking into the peep-hole, they might find it easier to imagine themselves being in the scene depicted and thus felt being closer to the portrayed objects than when they viewed topographical prints. Nevertheless, the advantage would be limited in its effect. The impression gained in the paper peepshows cannot function as the reiteration of the travelled experience for users, nor does it render the traces of mediation invisible. Just like the prints, the cut-out panels are not executed with life-like realism either. Moreover, as previously discussed, the panels often do no form a coherent view automatically because of the interruption of bellows or the unstable hands holding the work. Thus, in comparison to topographical prints, paper peepshows of watering resorts would not be able to offer a much more realistic representation and bring users significantly closer to the scenes depicted by denying traces of mediation. However, the latter could prove to be much more effective in evoking the emotions and sensation associated with the experience of travelling to inland spas and seaside towns, thereby achieving a higher level of immediacy more successfully in this way.

The sociologist of tourism and mobility John Urry provides an important theoretical framework for the following discussion. He argues that the core of tourism is about experiencing what is not normally found in daily life.[80] Based on this conceptualization, he proposes the idea of the 'tourist gaze,' which concerns a way of looking that is an essential mechanism in the operation of tourism, based on the seeking of such extraordinary encounters. Not only does the 'tourist gaze' direct the eye to unfamiliar features of tourist sites, but it also provides a set of discourse that shapes how visitors perceive and interpret what they see.[81] While Urry's formulation concentrates on how the 'tourist gaze' affects the way tourist sites are received, the

[80] John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd ed (London: SAGE, 2002), 1. For some of the subsequent literature discussing the idea of tourism as an activity of being away from the everyday, see for example Hartmut Berghoff and Barbara Korte, 'Britain and the Making of Modern Tourism: An Interdisciplinary Approach,' in *The Making of Modern Tourism: The Cultural History of the British Experience, 1600-2000*, eds. Hartmut Berghoff et al. (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 3; Hassan, *The Seaside*, 15.
[81] Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 3.

historian Peter Borsay expands Urry's theory and argues that the journey to the destination should also be considered as influenced by this mechanism. Through the examination of nineteenth-century travel literature, Borsay highlights how the association of tourism with the unfamiliar that demands a different way of looking is manifested at the moment when tourists were close to their destination. Describing their excitement of seeing the scenery revealing itself gradually at the end of the road, tourists often constructed a strong contrast between the scenes they saw on the journey and the sight in front of them, highlighting the impression that the latter was a completely different world while also expressing their heightened anticipation for it.[82]

As an important part of the experience of tourists, this feeling of rising excitement at the sight of the destination could be more easily brought to mind for nineteenth-century users through their consumption of paper peepshows than through their appreciation of topographical prints. At the same time, the perception of these places as extraordinary realms would also be reinforced more effectively in the former medium. The viewing of prints usually does not afford many opportunities for building anticipation, except perhaps in cases like the set of prints by Lamb or Bruce where images are held in a folio. With these prints, viewers could develop their expectation for the scenes inside before they turned the pages. Nonetheless, consisting only of text, the cover of the folio is purely functional and would give little impression of the content being about something extraordinary (Fig. 3.10 and Fig. 3.11). It would also be quite difficult to stimulate the sense of transition from the everyday realm into an unfamiliar world with the flipping of pages.

On the contrary, due to its structural features, the paper peepshow would prove to be a suitable medium to evoke a sensation that shared similarities with that felt by tourists who were nearing their destinations. As discussed in Chapter Two, the cut-out panels of the paper peepshow make references to the design of the theatre stage, while the front-face (sometimes also the slipcase) has a similar function to the proscenium arch, as a boundary that signals the separation between users/audience and the scenes on the inside/onstage. This design means that depictions behind the peep-hole belong to a different realm is an idea inherent to the paper peepshow. As the gateway to the cut-out panels, the front-face keeps the images from our view and effectively raises curiosity and anticipation. Moreover, the process of opening up the paper peepshow is also important to the discussion here. The moment of lifting the

[82] Borsay, 'A Room with a View,'185-186.

front-face constitutes an essential part of the joy of using this medium. This is a pleasure of both the visual and the haptic, as we take delight in seeing our manipulation enabling the previously hidden peep-view revealing itself gradually and experience excitement. The affordances enabled by the paper peepshow structure also means that the speed of the hands opening a work can be controlled so that the sensation of seeing the peep-view can be enjoyed at each user's own pace.

Most of the producers of watering resorts paper peepshows employed various designs to make use of these formal characteristics in different ways to strive for a higher degree of immediacy. In *Interior View of Brighton Royal Chain Pier*, for example, a vignette on the slipcase depicts the Pier from a distance, from the sea, which would be an unfamiliar perspective for users of the paper peepshow (Fig. 3.12). When they took out the work, they would see on the shutter a portrayal of the Pier from an angle known to them, from the entrance to the Pier, before they expanded the bellows and viewed the depiction of the Pier Head through the peep-hole (Fig. 3.13). On the inside, a low fence is depicted on the first cut-out panel, which is not present in the print by Bruce (Fig. 3.1). This element effectively stresses the separation between the space in- and outside the paper peepshow and the difference between them. As users took out the work, they physically neared the portrayal of the Pier on the cut-out panels while seeing depictions that also gradually 'zoomed in' on this landmark. They might as a result experience the rise of anticipation for the peep-view, which is a sentiment that could resonate with the eagerness felt by tourists approaching the actual Pier.

In other works, the emphasis of the design is mainly on the front-face, stressing its role as a boundary. Such depiction could draw attention to the impression that the scenes portrayed on the inside belonged to a different realm, thereby contributing to the building up of expectation. This is a design that was already used around 1825 by producers of paper peepshows with topographical images of London. For instance, the front-face of *A View in the Regent's Park* depicts a grotto in front of a stream and hints at the idea of looking through the opening in the woods to discover a new world (Fig. 3.14). The cover of *The Areaorama, a View on the Thames*, deploys a similar idea and portrays a boat approaching the bridge, ready to sail to the other side (Fig. 3.15).[83] The design that most consciously emphasis the boundary role of the front-face is found in *Viaorama, or the Way to St. Paul's* (hereafter *Viaorama*), which

[83] *The Areaorama, a View on the Thames,* S. & J. Fuller, c1825.

depicts a pair of shut doors leading to the City of London (Fig. 3.16).[84] Two men in military uniform in front of the doors gesture enthusiastically to curious onlookers, inviting them—and also the paper peepshow users—to enter the realm behind the doors. As London was also a destination for urban tourism, these images can be understood as examples that incorporate the aspect of the 'tourist gaze' that stresses the excitement of approaching a tourist site. Moreover, the design of the doors in *Viaorama* corresponds to a specific viewpoint often used in topographical images about townscape. This so-called 'town approach' perspective was used to repeat the sensation of visitors catching a glimpse of the town for the first time when they came close to it from the turnpike road, thus simulating the initial urban experience.[85] The second part of the title of *Viaorama*, 'the Way to St. Paul's,' already hints at the employment of such a viewpoint.[86] In addition, using a portrait format, which is quite rare in paper peepshow designs, this work has more room to emphasize the contrast between the horizontal buildings and the road they flank, thereby further evoking the sensation of visitors standing by the entrance to the City and watching the thoroughfare leading towards the St. Paul's, which is itself depicted on the final panel (Fig. 3.17).

The design used in these works about London is also adopted by many paper peepshows representing watering resorts to achieve a similar effect. For instance, although the slipcases of the two *Cheltenhamorama* look quite plain, the front-face image features depictions of what appears to be a grotto or lush vegetation, even though as the print by Cruikshank makes clear, the Old Well or the Walk leading to it was not situated in such a setting. These imageries were chosen perhaps for their mysterious connotation associated, which could evoke the users' curiosity to peer into the realm behind the peep-hole and allude to the similar sentiments experienced by tourists on the road (Fig. 3.5 and Fig. 3.9). This building up of anticipation would be particularly successful with the work in Fig. 3.5, since the flag on the cut-out panel can already be seen through the peep-hole. This glimpse of the inside of the paper peepshow could work as a teaser and further arouse the users' interest in the peep-view. As discussed in Chapter One, the suffix '-orama' is likely to be a means

[84] *Viaorama, or the Way to St. Paul's*, Ingrey & Madeley, 1825.
[85] Layton-Jones, *Beyond the Metropolis*, 32.
[86] In *Paper Peepshows*, 178, Hyde gives another interpretation for the significance of the title. He argues that the mention of the new way to St. Paul's might be in reference to the 1825 proposal by Lt Col Sir Frederick William Trench MP for a two-mile 'Triumphal Way' from Hyde Park to St. Paul's, which attracted much ridicule.

to borrow the popularity of the panorama, as the peep-view is nothing like the grandiose or survey view associated with the visual modality of the panorama. The design of the two paper peepshows depicting St. Leonards-on-Sea is similar to that used in *Viaorama* and can also be understood to be an example of the 'town approach' perspective. The front-face bears the imagery of the East Lodge, which was not only the start of the Marina but also the gateway to St. Leonards-on-Sea, separating it from Hastings (Fig. 3.18).[87] The significance of the East Lodge as an actual boundary between towns is thus combined with the function of the front-face. This design could allow the works to draw attention to the similarities between tourists' feeling of anticipation before entering a different town when standing by the entrance to St. Leonards-on-Sea, and users being curious about peering into a paper peepshow world through the peep-hole in the Lodge in the picture.

There are also paper peepshows whose design fails to stress the advantages of this medium in comparison with topographical prints. Although it appears that their producers did intend to bring users close to the sites represented with their works, the design they adopted would have failed to distinguish the unique experience that the paper peepshow could offer. Interestingly, both of the two works that fall into this category incorporate the imagery of the telescope. *A Peep at the Pier at Brighton* features a boy with a telescope looking outside the window with two female figures, probably his mother and sister (Fig. 3.19). The word 'peep' in the title of this work is probably a reference not to voyeurism, but the structure of the work and the act of looking through the peep-hole. It can also be understood as a phrase used in the literary genre of city guide, as discussed in Chapter Two, and denotes a form of light and pervasive enquiry. The design of the front-face can also evidence this interpretation. Admittedly, the boy's use of the telescope is an action that appears to fulfil one crucial criterion of the voyeuristic look, which is looking without been seen. However, the condition of the seclusion of the voyeur cannot be met here for the boy is in the companion of his family. The fact that what he can see through the telescope is also visible to others from the window does not create a secretive atmosphere either.

A slightly different way of depicting the telescope is seen in *Telescopic View of the Chain Pier, Brighton*. It features a front-face depicting a woman and children looking into what is probably intended as a telescope (judging from the title), under the direction of the man on the side (Fig. 3.20). The fact that the woman has a parasol

[87] Nathaniels, 'James and Decimus Burton's Regency New Town,' 161.

in her hand indicates that she is in an outdoor environment, probably already in Brighton and about to look at the Pier from a distance through the man's telescope. The image is likely to be a reference to the camera obscura placed on the building facing the actual Pier.[88]

Although the front-face structure in these two works could still function to arouse anticipation, it might resonate less with the sensation experienced on a journey, as the images they carry convey the idea that by looking through the peep-hole, users would not immerse themselves in the actual watering resorts, but only sights of them, through the telescope or the window. The reference to the role of the telescope in bringing distant scenes to viewers can also be understood a self-reflexive comment on the function of the paper peepshow as a landscape entertainment that also enables users to see representations of places without the need for actual travel, as well as a note on the elongated shape of this medium. Interpreted in this context, the design of the two images was probably intended to imply the authenticity of the depictions behind the front-face and their lack of mediation, or the high level of immediacy as conceptualised by Bolter and Grusin, since they were viewed through the transparent lens or window glass.[89] Although such design makes use of the aperture structure of the paper peepshow, its essence and function differ little from the line 'taken on the spot' on the cover of the set of prints by Bruce (Fig. 3.11). A similar approach can also be seen in the front-face of *Wonders of Cheltenham*. Flanked by curtains, the peep-hole in the centre with radiating lines appears like a window or an optical device, and the lens incorporated at the back of the peep-hole further emphasizes this impression (Fig. 3.21). For the amateur maker of *Wonders of Cheltenham*, who might have used the design to insert a sense of authenticity in the work, this image could partly fulfil this function. However, it is doubtful whether for publishers, who might aim to present their paper peepshows as those that offered a higher level of immediacy in portraying watering resorts compared to topographical prints, the front-face design featuring the telescope would have helped these works stand out on the market since the rest of the work shows visible marks of mediation.

Nevertheless, there is a feature inherent to the structure of the paper peepshow, which could evoke a different sentiment associated with tourism in nineteenth-century users and would not need to be 'activated' by a special design. This sensation is

[88] See Wallis, *Brighton as It Is*, 19, for details.
[89] The aforementioned depiction of the East Lodge on the front-face of the two works about St. Leonards-on-Sea can be interpreted in a similar way, although the discussion above makes clear that the function of this design goes beyond this one aspect.

relevant to the prevalent idea in this period of a tourist site being separate from everyday life experience too. Visitors' unfamiliarity with these places could bring not only anticipation and joy but also a sense of disorientation. Starting from the beginning of the nineteenth century, because of the extensive building of turnpike road and the improvement of coaches, the journey to tourist destinations had been significantly reduced.[90] The swift relocation of tourists could generate bewilderment, as they went into the coach with their memory and experience of their home city and encountered a different world when they stepped out again some hours later.[91] The literary scholar Alison Byerly argues that this confusion about two locations was an essential part of the tourists' experience, and that in media designed to enable the imagining of tourism, the simulation of this sense of disorientation was an important element.[92] In the panorama, for example, Byerly contends that because of the immersive setting of this medium, viewers felt as if they could virtually enter the world depicted on the canvas while being aware of the fact that their physical selves were located in the rotunda; this oscillation between two places was an evocation of the sense of bewilderment experienced in tourism.[93]

The style in which its panels are executed would mean that the paper peepshow cannot create a virtual representation of watering resorts in an equally effective way as the panorama. Replicating the experience of disorientation would have thus hardly been possible for nineteenth-century users. Nonetheless, the sense of oscillation does play a role in the sensation of using the paper peepshow. As discussed, looking into the peep-hole is an immersive experience. However, since the bellows are only on two of the four sides of the panels, the space formed between the front-face, back-board and the bellows is not entirely closed. From my experience in the archives, this means that even when I looked through the peep-hole, I could often still see the table on which a paper peepshow was placed. This experience can be theorized as a feeling of oscillation between two realms encountered in the consumption of this medium. On the one hand, users are immersed in the world inside the paper peepshow. Yet, on the

[90] Susan Barton, 'General Introduction,' in *Travel and Tourism in Britain* (see note 11), ix. The development of railways is the best example for this phenomenon, but for the period discussed here (late 1820s to early 1840s), the impact of railways to the journey to watering resorts was still not obvious as the train connections were just being, or not yet, built in the towns mentioned here. See Rose Collis, *The New Encyclopaedia of Brighton* (Brighton: Brighton & Hove City Libraries, 2010), 267-269 for details about the construction of the railway to Brighton; See Hembry, *British Spas from 1815 to the Present Day*, 52-53 for details about the situation in Cheltenham.
[91] Alison Byerly, *Are We There Yet?: Virtual Travel and Victorian Realism* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, c2013), 2.
[92] Ibid., 22.
[93] Ibid., 2; 22.

other hand, the semi-open structure means that from time to time, they might slip out of this world back into the realm in they inhabit. It is important to note that in this context, the marks of mediation on the panels do not affect the realization of this sensation, since what matters here is that the space in the paper peepshow is experienced as a different realm, not necessarily a realistically represented one.

For works depicting watering resorts, this sense of oscillation between two realms is particularly important. As this feeling is about the confusion of places, it could bring to mind the experience of disorientation felt by tourists bewildered by their change of location. The same effect would be more difficult to achieve in topographical prints. In appreciating these images executed with a strong perspective, viewers might hold them up close and thus also felt as if immersed in the image. Nevertheless, because the format of the print offers less depth into the scene, the contrast between the world in- and outside the image would thus not be pronounced too, making any potential oscillation between two realms much less powerful. Consequently, in evoking the confusion experienced by tourists more effectively than topographical prints, paper peepshows of watering resorts could enable users to be closer to the towns by bringing to their mind another important sentiment related to tourism, thereby realizing a higher level of immediacy.

Conclusion

Continuing the analysis of the relationship between the English paper peepshow and topographical images in Chapter One, this chapter argues that a group of works portraying watering resorts are particularly crucial to this discussion. The predominance of inland spas and seaside towns in English works depicting topographical scenes becomes evident in comparison with the situation in France and Germany. The nature of visiting watering resorts between the 1820s and early 1840s might be a major contributing factor to this phenomenon. As a non-material form of conspicuous consumption, going to these towns was a way for the upper and middle classes to display and confirm their status and wealth. Also belonging to the same category of behaviour was the purchase of fancy articles, of which the paper peepshow was a part. Incorporating depictions of watering resorts in this medium could thus be a way for publishers to combine two symbols of taste and capital into one so that their products could hopefully attract more attention from customers. This rationale can also explain why it appears that no paper peepshows of watering resorts were produced after the early 1840s. With the development of railways, inland spas and

seaside towns became increasingly less exclusive from the 1840s, while as will be discussed in the next chapter, this was the same time when the paper peepshow was no longer always considered as a fancy article. With their status-making nature faded, watering resorts and the paper peepshow also stopped being the ideal combination.

Moving on to examine the design of works of spas and seaside resorts, this chapter argues that they can be understood as forming a relationship of remediation with topographical prints. Most of the publishers made full use of the advantages afforded by the structure of the paper peepshow in evoking emotions and sentiments associated with tourists' experience, thereby presenting their products as objects able of realizing a higher level of immediacy and thus more attractive in this aspect than conventional prints. This chapter and the previous one complete the discussion of two of the most important subject matters—theatre and topography—of the paper peepshow in the early to middle phases of its development, up to the early 1840s. In the next two case studies, the later stages of the history of this medium will be examined, in the context of a very different scene of visual and optical entertainment.

Chapter Four

Paper Monument: Reinterpreting the Thames Tunnel

In the following two chapters, the focus of the examination will be shifted slightly. Instead of concentrating on the features of the structure of the paper peepshow, these parts of the thesis will pay more attention to its evolution as a medium, especially in the later stages of its development, from the early 1840s to the beginning of the 1850s. The Thames Tunnel is the perfect subject matter for such an analysis. It is impossible to write about paper peepshows, whether produced in England or not, without addressing works of this topic: through archival research, I have identified fifty-eight English Tunnel paper peepshows (six of which homemade), dating between 1825 and the mid-1860s, while a few works were also published made by amateurs in France, Germany, Italy, and the United States of America.[1] At the same time, these works have generated and sustained most of the misinterpretation about this medium. Indeed, as mentioned in the Introduction, the erroneous idea that the paper peepshow was intended as a souvenir for the Tunnel has become so ingrained in our cultural memory, that the term 'tunnel book' has been adopted as one of the general appellations for this medium. It is easy to see why it is almost instinctively regarded by so many as an object designed to commemorate the experience in this underground monument. The impression of depth and perspective formed by the elongated shape of the expanded paper peepshow constitutes a fitting articulation of the archways stretching seemingly into infinity under the Thames. Yet what has been neglected is that works about this monument were produced between 1825 and the 1860s, spanning the entire period of its construction, its completion in 1843, as well as its gradual loss of popularity since the 1850s. It is high time that we recognised that as the status and perception of the Tunnel changed, the meanings and functions of the paper peepshow as a representing medium also shifted, and that it was not always, or only, used as a souvenir.

[1] Production of such paper peepshows in Germany is particularly prolific, whereas in other regions there are only a few such works. See Appendix III for details of all the English works I have so far identified. See also Michael M. Chrimes, Julia Elton, and John May, 'The Catalogue,' section 'Peepshows (Nos 145-177)' in *The Triumphant Bore: A Celebration of Marc Brunel's Thames Tunnel*, written and compiled by Michael M. Chrimes et al. (London: Institution of Civil Engineers, Archives Panel, 1993), 74-86 for details of other English works that I have not been able to locate and non-English paper peepshows produced in the nineteenth century.

The analysis in this chapter examines the varied roles played by paper peepshows of the Tunnel in different periods. The first half investigates works produced between 1825 and 1843, when this monument was under construction. Contesting the argument that regards the paper peepshow only as a souvenir, this section makes the case that more attention needs to be paid to the function of this medium as a means to help its middle-class users imagine and make sense of the Tunnel. The design of the cut-out panels, which is used in almost all the English works, would have played very well into the nineteenth-century perception of the Tunnel as an emblem of the technological sublime while also highlighting its nature as a spectacle. However, the materiality of the paper peepshow and the sensation of using it, which could give the impression of ephemerality and fragility, would have contradicted such narrative. These works of the Tunnel can thus be interpreted as an example of how, between the mid-1820s and early 1840s, the ambivalence and anxiety of the English middle classes about technological advancements were embedded in representations that celebrated the progress of industry. The second half of this chapter examines post-1843 works, which were sometimes indeed used as souvenirs. My analysis of them not only looks at how they were designed to fulfil commemorative functions or bring representations of the Tunnel to those unable to visit it but also highlights that they represent an important stage in the evolution of the English paper peepshow. In the 1840s, when this medium faced the challenge of dwindling popularity, these works contributed to helping maintain its presence on the market, but also changing its meanings and functions.

English Paper Peepshows of the Tunnel under Construction (1825-1843)

The thought of connecting two sides of the Thames in East London was already being aired at the end of the eighteenth century. As early as 1798, the civil engineer Ralph Dodd initiated the idea of building a tunnel beneath the Thames. According to him, this project could enable the quick deployment of the British troops, should Frenchmen cross the Channel.[2] Yet his construction did not come to success, and in 1802, the team Robert Vaizey and Richard Trevithick took over the work, but they also met a dead-end six years later.[3] Still, Britain's interest in a tunnel did not wane, partly because at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the historical way of crossing the Thames using ferrymen caused serious traffic congestion, obstructing

[2] David Lampe, *The Tunnel: The Story of the World's First Tunnel under a Navigable River Dug Beneath the Thames, 1824-42* (London: Harrap, 1963), 11.
[3] Ibid., 12-20.

plans for improving the metropolis.[4] Thus, when the French engineer Marc Brunel proposed a tunnel connecting Rotherhithe and Wapping in East London under the Thames, he was met with great enthusiasm (Fig. 4.1). The Thames Tunnel Company (hereafter the Company) was founded in 1824, and an Act was passed by Parliament to ensure the smooth progress of the work.[5] On 2 March 1825, a grand ceremony commenced the actual construction on the Rotherhithe side, in Cow Court.

The building of the Tunnel, as it turned out, was eventful, to say the least. Brunel had predicted that the work would be finished in three years with a small budget and promised that the toll from both pedestrians and vehicles using this subterranean passage would help the Company win back its investment in no time. In the end, however, eighteen years were needed.[6] Seven of the eighteen years (between early 1828 and late 1834) were spent with the construction in suspension because the Company ran out of money. The Tunnel was on the edge of being abandoned yet again, only to be rescued by the Treasury Loan.[7] Moreover, the building work itself did not go smoothly. Multiple floods and small leakage, as well as other incidents, disturbed the progress and resulted in casualties and severe injuries of both workers and engineers, including Brunel's son, Isambard.[8] Workers' strikes due to the dangerous working conditions and their dissatisfaction over wages also added elements of uncertainty about the fate of the Tunnel.[9] Despite overwhelming doubts about whether the construction would ever be finished, this engineering wonder was finally brought to completion and officially opened on 25 March 1843, although due to lack of funds, the ramp originally intended for carriages was never built, and it remained a passage for pedestrians only.[10]

Despite, or maybe because of all the drama, the Tunnel attracted much interest throughout its construction period. Within days of the commencement of the construction, people flooded into Cow Court, including important officials, the royalty, and foreign visitors.[11] Before the actual tunnelling work began, spectators came to witness the descent of the shaft, which provided access to the location where the

[4] Antony Clayton, *Subterranean City: Beneath the Streets of London* (London: Historical Publications, 2000), 85.
[5] Lampe, *The Tunnel*, 36.
[6] Ibid., 37.
[7] Ibid., 146.
[8] Isambard Brunel was injured during the second major inundation in January 1828. For details of the incidents that happened during the construction period, see the timeline in Michael M. Chrimes, 'History of the Tunnel and Chronology,' in *The Triumphant Bore* (see note 1), 18-19.
[9] For a detailed account of workers' strikes, see Lampe, *The Tunnel*, 82-84.
[10] Ibid., 205-206.
[11] Ibid., 50.

Tunnel would start. A gallery was erected so that spectators could observe the operation.[12] As the interest in the construction continued to grow, the Company realised the commercial potential of the public's enthusiasm and started to capitalise on it despite Brunel's objection. In March 1827, the finished part of the Tunnel was opened to visitors at the price of one shilling per person as a means to raise funds.[13] Upper- and middle-class visitors, who could afford the entrance fee, would be allowed to descend the shaft and walk the three hundred feet of the finished part, up to a barrier where they could see the tunnelling shield two hundred feet away, almost halfway across the Thames.[14] Various souvenirs could be bought at the site, including special tickets made of genuine ivory.[15] After the suspension of the construction work, although the unfinished part of the Tunnel was sealed up and covered by mirrors, visitors were still admitted into the finished area.[16]

As Britain's first underground passage used for mass transportation and built using a concept not thinkable before, the Tunnel was unprecedented in many ways, which made it difficult for the public to fully understand this project.[17] Even though visits to the construction site were possible, the trip underground did not reveal how the completed passage would look. Moreover, despite their fame, the archways remained underground and did not have a prominent appearance in people's everyday experience of the metropolis.[18] Combined together, these factors generated much desire for verbal and visual representations of the Tunnel that could help interpret and visualize a monumental project for the public who knew little about it. Such demands were quickly fulfilled by portrayals of various aspects of the construction in different media. Newspaper articles gave detailed accounts of decisions made by the Company committee, the key technology used, as well as information about any accidents,

[12] Henry Law, *Memoir of the Several Operations and the Construction of the Thames Tunnel by Sir Isambart Brunel, F.R.S. and Civil Engineer* (London: John Weale, 1828), 25.
[13] Lampe, *The Tunnel*, 76-77.
[14] Ibid., 77. The tunnelling shield is the key piece of machine in the construction of the Tunnel and was specifically devised by Brunel for the project. It consisted of a grid of iron frames, which were divided into thirty-six cells. Each cell would be occupied by one workman, and the shield was pressed against the tunnel face. For details on the mechanism and importance of the shield for future engineering works, see Chrimes, 'History of the Tunnel and Chronology,' 5-6.
[15] Lampe, *The Tunnel*, 77.
[16] Ibid., 136.
[17] Haewon Hwang, *London's Underground Spaces: Representing the Victorian City, 1840-1915* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 12; Benson Bobrick, *Labyrinths of Iron: A History of the World's Subways* (New York, N.Y.: Newsweek Books, 1981), 75-76; 87.
[18] I am partly inspired for this argument by Shirlynn Sham, 'Science and Sublimity in Marc and Isambard Brunel's Thames Tunnel Project' (lecture at Paul Mellon Centre, London, 15 October 2019).

flooding, or problems that could hinder the progress of the operation.[19] The Company was also responsible for various books and reports informing the public about the condition of the project, while these publications were sometimes also used to seek moral and financial support from society.[20] Unofficial publishers were also quick to realize the commercial potential of the Tunnel. Guidebooks were widely circulated, and not only were they updated almost every year as the construction progressed, but they were also produced in French and German for the equally intrigued public on the Continent.[21] There were also numerous visual representations in various forms. Broadsheets that summarized the state of the work underground with simple illustrations were available, as well as freestanding prints and illustrations in both official and unofficial books, occasionally also in newspapers and periodicals (Fig. 4.2).[22] According to the handbill issued by the Company, some of the guidebooks with illustrations were sold by the construction site (Fig. 4.3). It is thus imaginable that those who went underground in East London would buy them as a means to commemorate their experience.

Not surprisingly, these visual representations were heavily recycled in different media, which practically used one set of stock imageries, as it were. It is also important to note that very few verbal descriptions and almost none of the visual accounts explain or record what visitors would see in the finished part of the Tunnel. Instead, they either describe or depict how the archways would look like when completed, or provide some 'back-of-scene' insights and explain the construction work and the machinery used.[23] The only exception identified so far is a print depicting the descent of the diving bell used after the 1827 flooding, which would be a scene that the public could see (Fig. 4.4). Entertainments that offered a multi-sensory experience sought to capitalize on the attention received by the Tunnel too, as it was

[19] For a few typical examples, see 'Thames Tunnel Company,' *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 24 July 1824, 2; 'The Thames Tunnel,' *Morning Post*, 4 March 1825, 4; 'Late Accident at the Thames Tunnel,' *Morning Chronicle*, 21 May 1827, 3. Both at the British Library Newspapers, Gale Primary Sources.
[20] In Judith Elton, 'The Tunnel in Print,' in *The Triumphant Bore* (see note 1), 25, Elton argues that the proliferation of publications from the Tunnel also partly resulted from 'the necessity of keeping the project in the public eye.'
[21] See Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' section 'Books and Reports (Nos 1-55)' and 'Guidebooks to the Thames Tunnel (Nos 56-83),' 33-41, 45-60, for extensive lists of different versions of both official and unofficial publications.
[22] See Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' section 'Broadsheets (Nos 84-111)' and 'Prints, Caricatures, Transformations, Drawings & Paintings (Nos 102-144),' 61-64, 67-69, for detailed lists of broadsheets and prints. Because they were not widely circulated among the public, drawings or paintings are not included in my discussion of visual representations here.
[23] Non-satirical representations of accidents, including flooding, in the Tunnel, also belonged to this category, as none of the incidents were experienced by visitors. Satirical accounts of the flooding will be discussed later in this chapter.

also featured in a cosmorama and a diorama, while in Vauxhall Gardens, a covered passage was set up to simulate the archways.[24] Moreover, a model was put on display in 1834 in the centre of London. With the scale of 'one-eighth of an inch to a foot . . . [and] . . . lighted up throughout,' it was advertised as 'an exceedingly accurate representation in miniature of what the Tunnel will be when finished.'[25]

English paper peepshows depicting the Tunnel were put on this market hungry for portrayals of this engineering project. The first work was published by a certain T. Brown in London on 16 June 1825.[26] Others soon followed, but many did not leave any trace of their producers' imprint. I have identified eleven unique published works that were produced when the Tunnel was in construction, with most of them appearing before 1830.[27] Judging from the surviving copies, S. F. Gouyn and M. Gouyn, who probably run a family business together, are particularly noteworthy as they appear to be the pair that dominated the English market. The two published the work *A View of the Tunnel Under the Thames, as It Will Appear when Completed* in at least five editions, in 1827, February 1828, August 1829, August 1830, and August 1834. Despite being produced by different publishers and having various slipcases or front-face images, all but one of the English Tunnel paper peepshows look strikingly similar, having the same size, five cut-out panels, one peep-hole, and the bellows on the same sides. Even the content of the panels is invariably an imaginary view of the completed archways, which looks no different from depictions in the guidebooks or broadsheets (this aspect will be discussed later in the chapter). All of these works portray visitors coming down into the Tunnel from stairs and various pedestrians and vehicles in the archways, although the exact depiction of the figures is not always the same (see Fig. 4.5 for an example of the peep-view). The only exception to English productions in this period is the work *Thames Tunnel* [c], published around 1835, of which only two copies have been so far identified.[28] It has just one cut-out panel, but in comparison with other Tunel works, it was more delicately made and with paper of much higher quality. More importantly, its peep-view includes a scene of workers in the Tunnel—

[24] 'National Gallery of Practical Science,' *Morning Post*, 4 July 1833, 1; 'The Physiorama and British Diorama,' *Morning Post*, 27 April 1830, 1; 'Vauxhall Gardens,' *Morning Post*, 6 June 1837, 3. All at the British Library Newspapers, Gale Primary Sources. The advertisements for the cosmorama and the diorama only mention that the Tunnel was depicted and do not give any description of how it might look like.
[25] 'An Exhibition of Models of the Thames Tunnel,' *The Times*, 31 January 1834, 2, *The Times* Digital Archive. Gale Primary Sources.
[26] *The Subaquarama*, T. Brown, 1825.
[27] See Appendix III for detailed information on these works and their current locations. Appendix II indicates the number of works produced in different periods.
[28] *Thames Tunnel* [c], Anonymous, c1835.

in other words, an image of the actual construction work, alongside the depiction of visitors (Fig. 4.6). The considerable number of paper peepshows following the design by Brown indicates its popularity. In fact, it appears that one of such works might have also reached North America. In the announcement of its new stock from London in 1827/1828, the Arcade Gallery in New York included in its list an item titled *Perspective View of the Tunnel under the Thames*, most likely referring to an English paper peepshow with Brown's design.[29]

Contrary to guidebooks available by the Tunnel, it seems that these paper peepshows were not sold by the construction site in East London. As indicated by the retailer's label, at least one of S. F. Gouyn's works was offered at the Soho Bazaar, where a work by M. Gouyn was sold too (it was sometimes also traded by C. Essex & Co., the fancy article dealer based in Clerkenwell, north London.)[30] As argued by the literature scholar Susan Stewart, by means of its material relation to the location of the commemorated occasion, the souvenir serves as traces of the lived events and function to authenticate and distinguish past experience.[31] This lack of material connection with the Tunnel, combined with the imaginary portrayal in the paper peepshows, means that they were unlikely to be marketed primarily as souvenirs, but more probably bought and consumed as a means to help interpret this engineering wonder for their users.

While judging from the venues where they were sold, these paper peepshows were probably still positioned on the market as fancy articles, at least some of them were priced much cheaper. Gouyn's products, for example, were offered for two or three shillings, less than half of the average paper peepshow price. This might have resulted from publishers' intention to boost the sales of their products. Inevitably, the quality of these works also suffered, which can be observed from the fact that apart from the work *Thames Tunnel* [c], others often have panels made with figures pasted

[29] I am grateful for Erika Piola from Library Company of Philadelphia for pointing out this to me. While the title of this work would be fitting for a paper peepshow, no works identified so far have the same title, which makes it difficult to tell whether the one sold by the American gallery was indeed a paper peepshow. The most likely work is *The Tunnel* [b], Silvester & Co, 1825, which is referred to as 'perspective view of the Tunnel' in the explanatory text on the reverse of its back-board. See Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 179, for details.

[30] See Appendix III for detailed retailers' information about these works.

[31] Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, N.C.; London: Duke University Press, 1993), 123-151 (especially 135). For subsequent discussion on authenticity and the souvenir, see for example Jillian M. Rickly-Boyd, 'Authenticity & Aura: A Benjaminan Approach to Tourism,' *Annals of Tourism Research* 39, no. 1 (2012): 269-289 and Jon Goss, 'The Souvenir: Conceptualizing the Object(s) of Tourist Consumption,' in *A Companion to Tourism, edited by Alan A. Lew, C. Michael Hall and Allan M. Williams* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 328.

on from the back, instead of being an integral part of the print. This making method probably led to the fact that the panels of different copies of the same work do not always look identical as the figures pasted on are not the same.

The existence of so many similar-looking English Tunnel paper peepshows may not appear surprising. There is no record to suggest that such objects were copyright protected, and it is no wonder that piracy of the content occurred. However, the insistence on just one design is still noteworthy, especially in contrast with works from the Continent. French and German published works from this period have been identified. Three French works, which are essentially the same work produced in different formats, were produced.[32] Their design follows the Brown paper peepshow as the prototype but has changed the details slightly. German productions, on the other hand, are diverse in styles and considerable in quantity. Apart from works that also appropriate the Brown publication, at least three different types of paper peepshow representation of the Tunnel have survived. One design departs only slightly from the English mainstream style—instead of showing the archways extending into the distance, it depicts the riverbank of the other side of the Thames on the back-scene (Fig. 4.7). Yet although the Thames is shown on the slipcase, as the ambiguous-looking front-face resembles more an entrance to a gateway than to an underground space, this change of the back-scene results in the peep-view appearing more like an ordinary passage (Fig. 4.8 and Fig 4.9). The other two types show considerable differences from the English style and more apparent association with the Tunnel. One kind is produced in a double-level structure, which consists of two basic paper peepshows stacked together vertically and separated by cardboard in the middle (Fig. 4.10). The two levels represent the Thames and the imaginary view of the finished archways (after the English style) respectively (Fig. 4.11 and Fig. 4.12). The other type is equipped with a removable back-slide that functions as an alternative back-scene. While the cut-out panels still portray the Tunnel in its future finished state, the removable back-slide showcases workers in the shield and users could put it on the back-scene to gain a view of the construction work (Fig. 4.13).[33]

[32] *Optique No. 6 Pont sous la Tamise*, Anonymous, hand-coloured line engraving, 12 x 14 x 53.5 cm (expanded), c1828, Gestetner 27; *The Tunnel*, Anonymous, hand-coloured line engraving, 12 x 14.6 x 48 cm (expanded), c1828, Gestetner 28; *The Tunnel / Pont sous la Tamise*, Anonymous, hand-coloured line engraving, 14 x 16 x 59 cm (expanded), c1835, Gestetner 45. All at the V&A.

[33] The following four works each represents one example that corresponds to the four types of German works discussed, in the order that the types are mentioned: *Der Tunnel/LeTunnel/Tunnel Views*, published by LF, hand-coloured lithograph, 12.6 x 15.6 x 47.5 cm (expanded), c1830, Gestetner 82; *Der Tunnel oder der Gang unter der Temse in London; Perpectivisch Dargestellt*, published by G. N. Renner, hand-coloured etching, 11.6 x 14 x 60 cm (expanded), c1834, Gestetner 94; *Perspectivische*

The dominance of one design of English Tunnel paper peepshows might have been a result of the positive reception that met these works on the market. Consumers' preference for these products can also be indicated from homemade works. Six such productions have been identified, all made before the Tunnel construction was finished. Five of them adopt the work by Brown as the model, and one follows the Gouyns' design.[34] The front-face and panels of all these paper peepshows are made of watercolours copied after the published models. Such insistence on the design initiated by Brown among amateur makers reflects from another perspective the popularity of the mainstream design of English productions, as users did not just accept but also recreated the design.

The positive reception received by the model initiated by Brown is, therefore, apparent. As the discussion below makes clear, many aspects of this design conformed to the nineteenth-century popular perception of the Tunnel, which celebrated subterranean technological structures. However, the materiality and consumption experience of these works might actually challenge this discourse. The expanded structure of this object can be described as an ephemeral exhibition space in two senses of the phrase. On the one hand, the space between the peep-hole and cut-out panels is transient as it can only exist when the paper peepshow is open. On the other hand, the fragility of the paper medium adds another layer to the ephemeral nature of this space. Of course, this object did not constitute a simulacrum of the Tunnel, and users would not establish a direct correlation between its features and those of the underground archways. Nonetheless, the impression of transience and fragility that the paper peepshow could evoke is worth noting because it is not just any sensation, but one that would resonate well with doubts and worries that users had about the fate of the Tunnel construction. The impression gained from using this object could thus contradict the perception of this monument designed to be conveyed by its cut-out panels. However, this fact did not seem to jeopardize the popularity of English works. To understand this paradox, it is necessary to start my examination by looking at what was the perception of the English middle classes of the Thames Tunnel under construction.

Ansicht des Tunnel unter der Themse / Vue perspective du Tunnel sous la Tamise, published by JMB, hand-coloured etching, 23 x 15.2 x 60 cm (expanded), c1835, Gestetner 118; *Perspectivische Ansicht des Tunnel unter der Themse von Rotherhithe nach Wapping London*, hand-coloured line engraving, published by JMB, 14.4 x 17.8 x 75 cm (expanded), c1835, Gestetner 121. All at the V&A.

[34] See Appendix III for details.

Technological Sublimity and Spectacle Represented on Cut-Out Panels

In the 1820s and 1830s, the unprecedented nature of the Tunnel needed not only visual or verbal representations but also different narratives to help the public make sense of it. In the discourse of the middle classes in this period, this engineering project was interpreted as an emblem of the technological sublime and a form of spectacle. It was this image that was reinforced in the English paper peepshow, through its structure and panels.

The Tunnel combined two identities, as an example of technological development as well as an underground space. Although the discourses about these two identities did have overlaps in the nineteenth century, they had different origins and will thus be examined separately below. While it is impossible to walk in the original archways today, at the Brunel Museum in London, visitors can still go down the shaft on the Rotherhithe side of the Thames to get an impression of the scale of the construction work in the nineteenth century. Even to our modern eyes, familiar with various kinds of technological wonders of gigantic size, the first impression that this shaft leaves us is probably still the sensation of sublimity, and we can only imagine how much more impressive the scene would have appeared to nineteenth-century visitors. The perception of sublimity as an aesthetic category in early nineteenth-century England is arguably most heavily influenced by the definition of Edmund Burke and those who subsequently developed his theory.[35] In his *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, Burke breaks away from previous theorists and defines the feeling of the sublime as closely related to the emotions of the observer, with terror at its foundation.[36] According to Burke, '[w]hatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger [. . .] or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the sublime'.[37] He emphasises that sublimity is a balancing act: when pain and danger are too close, 'they are incapable of giving any delight, and are simply terrible; but at certain

[35] Samuel Holt Monk, *The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in XVIII-Century England* (University of Michigan Press, 1960), 84-163. On page 94 and 99 in the same volume, Monk also stresses that even though Burke's ideas were not always approved by critics, they had a wide influence among the public. Literature on the sublime is enormous and cannot be sufficiently covered in this chapter. For more recent discussions, see for example Cliff McMahon, *Reframing the Theory of the Sublime: Pillars and Modes* (Lewiston, N.Y.; Ceredigion: Edwin Mellen Press, c2004); Gillian B. Pierce, ed., *The Sublime Today: Contemporary Readings in Aesthetic* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013); Hélène Ibata, *The Challenge of the Sublime: From Burke's Philosophical Enquiry to British Romantic Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018).

[36] Monk, *The Sublime*, 87.

[37] Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. Adam Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 36.

distances, and with certain modifications, they may be, and they are delightful, as we every day experience.'[38] In other words, the sublime is realized with the precondition of the observer's safety, rather than exposure to real pain or danger.

The cultural historian Leo Marx, whose works focus on examining the relationship between technology and culture in the nineteenth and twentieth century, argues that while the sublime was initially more closely associated with scenes of nature, in the nineteenth century, it gradually extended itself into the vocabulary used for describing the new landscape shaped by industrialization, characterized by machines and technological products of grand scales and towering presence.[39] He phrases this appropriation of the aesthetic concept as the 'rhetoric of the technological sublime,' and argues that this rhetoric was used to promote the middle-class ideology of industry as a sign of progressive development.[40] Although Leo Marx focuses his analysis on the American industrialization process, the discourse of the technological sublime was widely circulated in England in the period discussed here too. For instance, in his *A Morning's Walk from London to Kew*, the schoolteacher and author Sir Richard Phillips describes what he saw in the workshops of Brunel and expressed his amazement at what wonders a machine could create:

> I was attracted by the solemn action of a steam-engine of a sixteen-horse or eighty-men power, and was ushered into a room, where it turned, by means of bands, four wheels fringed with fine saws, two of eighteen feet in diameter, and two of them nine feet. These circular saws were used for the purpose of separating veneers, and a more perfect operation was never performed. I beheld planks of mahogany and rose-wood sawed into veneers the sixteenth

[38] Ibid., 36-37.

[39] Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (London; New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1972), 195. In Rosalind H. Williams, *Notes on the Underground: An Essay on Technology, Society and the Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press, c1990), 88-90, Williams also discusses the concept of technological sublimity. While she makes reference to Marx, her definition of this term is broader, as it includes the feeling of sublimity induced both by gigantic and towering machines and scenes of industrial production, as well as the accidents and even disasters that occurred during this process. For her, these two kinds of sights also evoke different aspects of sublimity. My use of 'technological sublime' in this chapter follows the definition by Marx.

[40] Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 194-209. See also Paul Dobraszczyk, 'Sewers, Wood Engraving and the Sublime: Picturing London's Main Drainage System in the Illustrated London News, 1859-62,' *Victorian Periodicals Review* 38, no. 4 (Winter 2005): 352-354 for a similar argument. In Bermingham, 'Landscape-O-Rama,' 130, Bermingham points out a different aspect of the development of the concept of the sublime and argues that as such visual entertainments as the panorama brought breath-taking natural landscape to the city, they appropriated the idea of the sublime too by creating the concept of the urban sublime.

of an inch thick, with a precision and grandeur of action which really was a sublime![41]

At the same time, the subterranean space also has its own tradition of being associated with the sublime, but not exactly for the same reasons. While the image of descending into the underground is an ancient topos, its connotations had undergone several changes since the eighteenth century.[42] Whereas the dark, formless, and obscure subterranean space was previously considered as ugly and repulsive, likened to the hell reserved for those forsaken by society and fallen from heaven, it was reinterpreted by the aesthetic of the sublime from the mid-1700s.[43] Since according to Burke, night, with its darkness and vastness, is one perfect example of the sublime, the 'at once dark, deep, and deprived' subterranean environments also became regarded as examples of this aesthetic. This change of perception of the underground space had many manifestations, including the emergence of cave tourism that enabled a deliberate quest for the sublime.[44]

The mechanized landscape in the underworld can thus be understood as a particular type of technological sublimity, as their awe-inspiring nature derived both from their association with industrialization and their subterranean location.[45] Examples of such space included the subway and the sewage system that appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century, and of course, the Tunnel.[46] Yet another aspect of the sublime, the 'artificial infinite,' also proved relevant to such passages as the Tunnel that extended a considerable distance beneath the city. Burke explains that in the face of the 'artificial infinite', the sensation of sublimity is experienced because

[41] Richard Phillips, *A Morning's Walk from London to Kew* (London: Printed by J. Adlard, 23, Bartholomew-Close; Sold by John Souter, 1, Paternoster-Row), 46.
[42] Williams, *Notes on the Underground*, 7-9; Hwang, *London's Underground Spaces*, 1.
[43] Williams, *Notes on the Underground*, 86.
[44] Ibid., 86.
[45] For Rosalind Williams, the man-made underground space is connected with the technological sublime (her definition) also because of the imageries of industrial accidents that took place there, which the middle classes could observe from a safe distance. See Williams, *Notes on the Underground*, 89-90, where she uses the mine, an important nineteenth-century underground space, as the example. See Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization* (San Diego, Calif.; London: Harcourt Brace, c1963), 69-77, for a discussion about the mine as the heart of the nineteenth-century underground world. Williams's argument works well with her definition of technological sublimity, as discussed above. However, it cannot sufficiently explain how the Tunnel was experienced when it was under construction, as the discourse surrounding it focused on the magnificent machine work and any association with accident was much avoided, as the discussion below makes clear.
[46] For detailed analyses of the subway and the sewage system, see David L. Pike, *Subterranean Cities: The World Beneath Paris and London, 1800-1945* (Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 20-100 and 190-269; Hwang, *London 's Underground Spaces.* Both also stress the central role such space occupied in the discussion of nineteenth-century industrialization and modernity.

when the eyes encounter an object of great dimensions, the continuing effect of tension and vibration in the retina produces in the mind the idea of the sublime.[47]

In fact, however, not all these three aspects of the sublime—towering presence of industrial construction, darkness, and the 'artificial infinite'—had a prominent role in the perception of the nineteenth-century English middle classes of the Tunnel under construction. In one of John Martin's illustrations for an edition of John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Martin portrays the bridge built from Earth over Chaos down to Hell as a tunnel, making a reference to the passage being built beneath the Thames (Fig. 4.14).[48] The image, while stressing the idea of darkness being an element of the sublime, also shows the reminiscent association of the underground space with hell. Yet this would not have been what the privileged visitors experienced in Rotherhithe, which is recorded vividly in the letter by the actress Fanny Kemble to a friend in 1827:

> In the midst of this [shaft] is a steam engine, and above, or below, as far as your eye can see, huge arms are working up and down, while the creaking, crashing, whirring noises, and the swift whirling of innumerable wheels all around you, make you feel for the first few minutes as if you were going distracted. I should have liked to look much longer at all these beautiful, wise, working creatures, but was obliged to follow the last of the party through all the machinery, down little wooden stairs and along tottering planks, to the bottom of the well. On turning round at the foot of the last flight of steps through an immense dark arch, as far as sight could reach stretched a vaulted passage, smooth earth underfoot, the white arches of the roof beyond one another lengthening on and on in prolonged vista, the whole lighted by a line of gas lamps, and as bright, almost, as if it were broad day. It was more like one of the long avenues of light that lead to the abodes of the genii in fairy tales, than anything I had ever beheld.[49]

But there was another side to the Tunnel construction site, which was where the workers were. As Kemble had the privilege to visit the part of the Tunnel what would normally remain hidden from visitors, she also revealed the conditions there:

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[47] Monk, *The Sublime*, 97.
[48] Bobrick, *Labyrinths of Iron*, 75.
[49] Frances Ann Kemble, *Records of a Girlhood*, 2nd ed (New York, N.Y.: Holt, 1883), 120-121.

> Mr. Brunel . . . came to my father and offered to conduct us to where the workmen were employed [.] . . . So we left our broad, smooth path of light, and got into dark passages, where we stumbled among coils of ropes and heaps of pipes and piles of planks, and where ground springs were welling up and flowing about in every direction, all which was very strange[.] [. . .] [T]he appearance of the workmen themselves, all begrimed, with their brawny arms and legs bare, some standing in black water up to their knees, others laboriously shovelling the black earth in their cage (while they sturdily sung [*sic*] at their task), with the red, murky light of links and lanterns flashing and flickering about them, made up the most striking picture you can conceive.[50]

Kemble's description makes it clear that for the affluent visitors, the gigantic scale of the industrial site and the 'artificial infinite' were what made the Tunnel an example of the technological sublime. The hellish, dark scenes imaged by Martin, on the contrary, needed to remain unknown to them, along with the workers. The historian of technology Rosalind Williams argues that the obscureness of the workmen in the Tunnel would be necessary since the technological sublime needs to be based on an inorganic environment, where the human presence remains invisible.[51] In fact, however, the imagery of workers engaged in industrial construction was often perceived as heroic and included as part of the overall construction of the progressive rhetoric of the technological sublime.[52] It is perhaps more accurate to say that it is not the human presence as such as that was problematic, but how it was represented. In the case of the Tunnel, the sight of the 'begrimed' workers among 'black water' and 'black earth,' as recorded by Kemble, would be a reminder of the appalling conditions in the underground space and the risk of flooding that workmen faced.[53] Seeing this part of the construction site would thus undermine the rhetoric of progress of the technological sublime and put in question the prerequisite for this concept to work, namely the safety of the observer.[54] As Kemble succinctly concludes later, it would

[50] Ibid., 121.
[51] Williams, *Notes on the Underground*, 97-98.
[52] Dobraszczyk, 'Sewers, Wood Engraving and the Sublime,' 358-362.
[53] Highly toxic air and danger of fire were also what the workers were exposed to. See Bobrick, *Labyrinths of Iron*, 80, for details.
[54] As will be discussed later, the risk of flooding, which undermined the basis of the technological sublime, did became impossible to ignore for visitors, but not through them witnessing the inundation.

be better for visitors to 'look at the trees, and the sun, moon, and stars,' and the public side of the Tunnel, than at the site where workers were present.[55]

There would be another reason why the obscurity of workers and their working conditions was necessary. From Kemble's letter, it is clear that the part of the Tunnel open to visitors was not only a sublime site. The machines were described by her not as something fearsome but 'beautiful,' while the tunnelling shield evoked the exotic and romantic image of 'genii in fairy tales,' which conveyed the impression that the archways were also viewed as a fantastical spectacle.[56] Rosalind Williams categorizes the association of the underground with sublimity and with spectacles as two distinct stages in the evolution of the perception of this space, the latter establishing itself only by the mid-nineteenth century.[57] However, from Kemble's description, it is clear that rather than being neatly separated from each other, different associations with the subterranean co-existed alongside each other.[58] The element of the spectacular was embedded in the narrative about the Tunnel from very early on. This can be glimpsed from the abovementioned practices such as providing a viewing platform for visitors to observe the lowering of the shaft or the opening of the finished archway to tourists in March 1827.[59] This would not be surprising or unusual in the nineteenth century, when technology and science were very much put on display as spectacles in the public realm in various ways.[60] While public demonstrations of scientific phenomena and performances of mechanical devices would usually be accompanied by a showman educating the audience through charismatic lectures, the spectacularization of engineering pieces such as the Thames Tunnel was a slightly different practice.[61]

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[55] Kemble, *Records of a Girlhood*, 121.
[56] Ibid., 120-121.
[57] Williams, *Notes on the Underground*, 95.
[58] See Hwang, *London's Underground Spaces*, 7, for a theorization of this argument. In Pike, *Subterranean Cities*, 3, he also notes that the concept of the subterranean space that could be 'bright, clean, and dry' emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, in '"The Greatest Wonder of the World": Brunel's Tunnel and the Meanings of Underground London,' *Victorian Literature and Culture* 33, no. 2 (2005): 348-349, he argues in the case of the Tunnel, it was only in 1834, with the model set up in central London, that the shift of the attitude of the middle classes towards the Tunnel from the sublime to the spectacle was manifested. My analysis puts the date to the beginning of this project, in the mid-1820s.
[59] In Pike, '"The Greatest Wonder of the World",' 341, he also provides another framework to analyse this phenomenon and considers the Tunnel under construction as an early example of a type of a tourist attraction that was both a site of labour and a transportation network.
[60] Iwan Rhys Morus, 'Sight and Sites: The National Repository and the Politics of Seeing in Early Nineteenth-Century England,' in *Science Museums in Transition: Cultures of Display in Nineteenth-Century Britain and America*, eds. Carin Berkowitz and Bernard Lightman (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2017), 93.
[61] For scholarship on the display of scientific phenomena and performances of machines, see for example Joe Kember, John Plunkett, and Jill A. Sullivan, Introduction to *Popular Exhibitions, Science and Showmanship, 1840-1910*, eds. Joe Kember, John Plunkett, and Jill A. Sullivan (London; Brookfield, Vt.: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), 1-18 and Ralph O'Connor, *The Earth on Show: Fossils*

Unlike a scientific discovery or a newly-invented machine, a piece of engineering work was usually by nature gigantic in size, and engineers would thus have a particular problem of 'releasing [the end product] at the right moment to the right audience . . . [with] the sanitised accounts of finished products.'[62] Nevertheless, the difficulty in concealing the construction process can be used to the advantage of engineers, who could put on a theatrical presentation of the project, even when it was still unfinished, to attract spectators' attention.[63] Crucially, the charm of engineering spectacles would come very much from 'the invisibility of the human skills that made them,' which augmented the impression of the magic power of technology.[64]

Thus, in order for the spectacularization of the Tunnel to succeed, the workers also needed to stay in the dark. If the opening of the completed archways can be considered as one of the first steps towards making this underground space a spectacular sight, the reaction of the public and the media was then crucial in consolidating this status. For example, although the early announcements of the opening of the construction site for visits appeared only as a notice in newspapers, it gradually became a fixed entry under the 'public amusement' section.[65] It is clear that the Tunnel before 1843 was a site of the technological sublime as well as a unique feature of London's visual entertainments.[66] Moreover, the pinnacle of the attempt of the Company to present this underground space as a spectacle was probably the banquet it staged in the completed section of the Tunnel in 1827. With carpeted floor, walls draped with velvet, and gas candelabra, it would be impossible to ignore the grandeur of this space (Fig. 4.15).[67]

The workers would not have fit well with the presentation of the finished archways either, which was rendered as a realm that catered to the expectation of the affluent visitors by being not just a spectacular, but also an ordered and respectable place so that they would be convinced to venture underground willingly.[68] This can be observed in Kemble's letter, which details how the subterranean space had 'smooth

and the Poetics of Popular Science, 1802-1856 (Chicago, Ill.; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

[62] Ben Marsden and Crosbie Smith, *Engineering Empires: A Cultural History of Technology in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 7.

[63] Ibid., 7.

[64] Jennifer Uglow, 'Introduction: "Possibility",' in *Cultural Babbage* (see note 12 in Chapter One), 20.

[65] See for example the comparison between 'The Thames Tunnel,' *Morning Chronicle*, 16 April 1827, 1 and 'The Thames Tunnel,' *Morning Chronicle*, 29 September 1834, 3. Both at the British Library Newspapers, Gale Primary Sources.

[66] Altick, *The Shows of London*, 373-374. Interestingly, Altick compares the Tunnel under suspension as a giant peepshow.

[67] Lampe, *The Tunnel*, 117. For more details, see 113-8 in the same volume.

[68] Pike, *Subterranean Cities*, 33-36.

earth underfoot,' 'white arches,' and was brightly lit by 'a line of gas lamps.'[69] The tidy floor and light effect she saw must have appeared much more impressive after August 1828, when the Tunnel was bricked up temporarily, and mirrors were placed in front of the shield, reflecting and amplifying the gaslights.[70]

Various forms of representation of the Tunnel played an important role in disseminating and consolidating the discourse of the technological sublime and the spectacle, as they helped their readers and viewers imagine and understand this project. By focusing on what was invisible to the public, either the completed Tunnel or scenes of the construction, these accounts could have more freedom to reinforce the popular narratives of this engineering monument without having to adhere to facts. The paper peepshow played a similar part, and some aspects of its structure and consumption experience would prove particularly suitable for it to fulfil this role. For the analysis in this chapter, S. F. Gouyn's work published in February 1828 is used as the primary example for several reasons.[71] As all but one English Tunnel paper peepshows have a highly similar design, examining one work can be considered sufficient for general arguments about works portraying the Tunnel. Gouyn's products are important because they have survived in the largest quantity, were used as the prototype for one homemade paper peepshow, and had at least five editions spanning seven years. All of these facts are indicators of the popularity of works of this particular design. Although the first edition of the Gouyn work identified so far dates to 1827, I decided to use the 1828 version, as this work was produced after the second flood that claimed six lives and when the construction had been suspended. The contrast between the imaginary depiction of the archways and the actual state of the project would thus be more apparent, the significance of which will be discussed in detail in this section and the next.

The design of this paper peepshow draws from the same pool of stock imageries of the Tunnel used by other visual media. As mentioned above, almost all of the images produced of it during the period of its construction showed very little connection to reality, and they can be divided into two types. One category deals with

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[69] Kemble, *Records of a Girlhood*, 120-121. In David L. Pike, *Metropolis on the Styx*: *The Underworlds of Modern Urban Culture, 1800-2001* (Ithaca, N.Y.; London: Cornell University Press, 2007), 260-274, Pike argues that the presentation of the finished part of the Tunnel was deliberately modelled on the London West End arcade in order to cater to the middle-class patrons who would be otherwise unwilling to visit East London. Pike's discussion of the relationship between the perception of the Tunnel and the tension between the middle and working classes is insightful but is not highly relevant to the discussion here.

[70] Lampe, *The Tunnel*, 77, 138.

[71] *A View of the Tunnel under the Thames, as it will Appear when Completed* [b], S.F. Gouyn, 1828.

the construction process and consists mainly of diagrams that explain the critical technology and methods used, advertising the grand scale and mechanical ingenuity of the Tunnel and celebrating it as the example of the technological sublime. To comply with this discourse, workers remain hardly visible in such depictions. When they do appear, there is no indication in the image of the harsh conditions they found themselves in. Instead, they are dressed in clean and tidy clothes in the spacious and orderly archway, such as in an illustration in the official book, *The Origin, Progress, and Present State of the Thames Tunnel* (Fig. 4.16).[72] Sometimes the toil of the workers is even presented as some kind of entertainment. An illustration from the popular guidebook *Sketches of the Works for the Tunnel under the Thames from Rotherhithe to Wapping* depicts them in the tunnelling shield (Fig. 4.17).[73] They are frozen in their working position and crammed in the compartments of the shield and put on display, as if in the vitrine of a shop. The image is also part of a movable mechanism of the page—one can lift or put down the page in front of this print to remove or add the frame of the archways (Fig. 4.18). This design further reinforces the element of entertainment and contributes to the objectification of the workers. Scenes of flooding do make their appearance too, for example, in a print in the same guidebook (Fig. 4.19). However, such images only show an empty Tunnel when the water caved in and completely fail to acknowledge the danger faced by workers. Together with the text that merely addresses how the flooding was stopped and does not mention the casualties, the representation actually functions to underscore the perception that industrial advancement will prevail despite the inundation, rather than undermining this view.

The other category focuses on visualizing the Tunnel in its finished stage and also emphasizes its role as an example of the technological sublime. For instance, *The Origin* also contains a cross-section of the completed archways. By juxtaposing them with the river Thames running above them, the image draws attention to the perception of the Tunnel as a man-made wonder (Fig. 4.20). In images portraying the archways, for example, an illustration from *Sketches for Works* (Fig. 4. 21), the scene of the Tunnel stretching into the distance evokes the idea of 'artificial infinite effectively,'

[72] *The Origin*, 1827. Although this is the fourth edition, the book was first published in 1827, which indicates its popularity.
[73] *Sketches of the Works for the Tunnel under the Thames from Rotherhithe to Wapping* (London: Harvey and Darton, 55 Gracechurch Street; C. Tilt, St. Bride's Avenue, 86 Fleet Street; Printed by the Philanthropic Society, St. George's Field, 1829). See Elton, 'The Tunnel in Print,' 25-26, for details on the popularity of this guidebook, which was translated into German too.

while the warm, bright lighting and the well-dressed pedestrians reinforce the perception of this space as a safe and sanitized place, as well as hinting at its being a spectacle for the entertainment of the privileged visitors.

The depiction of the Tunnel in English paper peepshows shows a similar image and tells the same narrative. The slipcase of the Gouyn work (Fig. 4.22) is essentially a copy of Fig. 4.20. The shutters in the front-face consist of a vignette that makes reference to the flood, but it depicts not the moment when the water came in, but when it was successfully stopped by 'bags of clay &c,' as explained in the text below. Thus, similar to the case of the guidebook, this combination of the image and words further conveys the unshakable confidence in the Tunnel despite the accident. This impression is reinforced by the information on the front-face about the immense dimension of the project. It is noteworthy that in all editions, only the flood in 1827, which did not cause any casualties, is mentioned. While this probably resulted from the producer's lack of concern over providing up-to-date information, it could nonetheless convey the impression to nineteenth-century users that accidents in the Tunnel were less severe than was actually the case. Interestingly, as we lift the front-face and expand the bellows, the shutters retract with the panels and vanish from our sight. The shutters give way to the peep-view depicting the finished Tunnel as if to symbolize that accidents will be overcome while this engineering wonder will triumph. The cut-out panels, showing pedestrians and carriages, also adopt the composition in other prints, such as the one from *The Origin* (Fig. 4.23 and Fig. 4.24), while the design here emphasizes how the archways extend seemingly into infinity. Moreover, the flesh-tone colour of the paper makes the archways appear to be particularly bright, which can be understood as a reference to the gas lamps in this space that rendered it a spectacle. That this design corresponds more closely to the popular discourse of the Tunnel than other paper peepshow models becomes obvious when the peep-views are put in comparison. In the English paper peepshow published in 1835 that depicts an unfished archway (Fig. 4.6) and German works that have a removable back-slide (Fig. 4.13), the appearance of workers is the element that would contradict the interpretation of the Tunnel as an instance of technological sublimity and a spectacle. Similarly, the depiction of dock workers operating aboveground in double-level paper peepshows could also undermine the discourse of this underground space (Fig. 4.12). In works that portray the finished Tunnel with the other side of the riverbank visible, apart from the issue that the design gives little indication of it being about the Tunnel, the fact

that the one can see the end of the archways means that the realization of the effect of the ‘artificial infinite’ would be less effective (Fig. 4.7).

The metamorphosis of two-dimensional imageries into three-dimensionality in the paper peepshow can be understood as a process of the latter remediating the former in the name of immediacy. As previously discussed, the immersive sensation experienced by users looking into the peep-hole could enable them to feel as if being brought a little closer to the object represented, even when traces of mediation were prominently visible. Yet for the discussion here, other aspects of this transformation worth more attention. In the context of representing the Tunnel, the structure of the paper peepshow is particularly suitable for this purpose, not just because of its ability to produce the impression of depth, but also since its elongated shape constitutes an articulation of the archways extending into the distance. This was one of the most distinctive features of this engineering project and one that was unfamiliar to the public. The simulation of this characteristic in the paper peepshow is not only visual, but also tactile, and could have helped its users to grasp (pun intended) the idea of a tunnel under the Thames in a more substantial way than conventional prints could realize.

It might appear that the model set up in Central London in 1834 mentioned above, with its three-dimensional structure that allowed visitors to look inside, could provide a representation of the Tunnel with features similar to those of embedded in Gouyn’s work. Yet a key difference remains. The paper peepshow not only showcases the archway structure—it does this in a dynamic way. Instead of making the archways visible all the time, it reveals nothing when closed flat, and arouses curiosity. When the front-face is lifted, it is as if the archways depicted on the panels suddenly spring into existence in the split of a second. The experience of how the Tunnel on paper is quickly erected would underscore the sense of wonder embodied by this monument for nineteenth-century users and would have resonated well with the discourse of the technological sublime that stressed the almost magic-like power of industrial advancements.

The Paradox of the Ephemeral Exhibition Space

For spectators who were kept in the dark about the dangerous conditions faced by workers underground, the Tunnel was perceived by them as an emblem of the technological sublime that was also a spectacle. However, while the toxic air or filthy working environment could be easily avoided, the flood represented on the front-face

of Gouyn's work was much more terrifying than suggested by the vignette. Since such inundations threatened to put visitors in real, not imagined or controlled, danger, the triumphant narrative of the Tunnel could no longer hold true. Of course, the Company went out of their way to try to maintain the public's confidence in the safety of the project. In various publications, the stress was always on its absolute sturdiness. When the site was re-opened for visitors at the end of July in 1827, after the first flood, Marc Brunel commissioned a report, which appeared in *The Times* and assured its readers of the strong brickwork of the Tunnel that could support much more than the Thames's weight.[74] Perhaps the best way conceivable by the Company directors to demonstrate the security of the archways was the banquet held inside them in late 1827—after all, it would be quite unlikely that so many important figures would be willing to risk their lives, and the soundness of the construction work should thus be amply demonstrated in this way.

For Kemble, the Company's measures probably succeeded in convincing her of the Tunnel's safety. In her letter, she very calmly recalled the 1827 accident when 'the tunnel caved in . . . and let the Thames in through the roof.'[75] Not showing much concern about the safety underground, she did not refuse to go where the workers were and appeared to be confident in the improvement work done to prevent further flooding. Similar descriptions of the inundation can be seen in most of the newspaper reports, an important source from which the public gained updates about the project. Certainly, some articles were more concerned about sensational accounts of the accident than accuracy. For instance, one day after the 1827 flooding, *The Times* wrote inaccurately but graphically that 'there were two or three visiters [*sic*] in the tunnel at the time [of the flooding], one of whom was a female, whose feet, in their retreat, were actually washed by the water [.]'[76] Nevertheless, the vast majority of newspaper articles adhere most of the time to the facts when reporting about the inundation. To take the article in the *Morning Post* as a typical example: the report describes the details of the accident in a neutral tone and includes Brunel's letter assuring the public of the positive future of the Tunnel, while concerns for the fate of this project are voiced in a much-restrained manner, with sentences like 'it is feared [that the flood] will, at the very least, greatly retard the progress of the work' or 'we almost fear he

[74] Lampe, *The Tunnel*, 107.
[75] Kemble, *Records of a Girlhood*, 121.
[76] 'The Thames Tunnel,' *The Times*, 19 May 1827, 3, *The Times* Digital Archive. Gale Primary Sources.

[Thames] will ultimately be found two [*sic*] strong for Mr. Brunel to resist him.'[77] Subsequent reports about the Tunnel also continued to take a generally positive tone and sometimes describing the project as 'ingenious,' while as mentioned above, accounts in books and guides also echoed this narrative.[78]

Yet no measures or reports seemed sufficient to help the engineering project regain the same confidence among the public, as visitor numbers to the construction site inevitably dropped. To make matters worse, the 1827 flooding was followed by more, and more deadly inundation later, which would have generated more doubts about whether the promise of the Company of the soundness of the Tunnel was indeed credible. It needs to be noted that none of the casualties resulting from these accidents was visitors, and the public part of the underground archways always remained safe and dry, as advertisements for it from the Company repeatedly emphasized.[79] Nevertheless, the idea that, unlike the filthy air or poor working conditions, the threat of the river was much less easy to be contained in the dark with the workers and could also pounce on visitors, generated much anxiety. Such sentiments are clearly visible from many of the satirical representations related to the flooding. One example is C. Williams's caricature 'THE TUNNEL!!! or *another* BUBBLE BURST' in 1827 (Fig. 4.25).[80] Among the people fleeing away from the raging Thames, apart from some workers dressed in ragged shirts, the majority of those caught in the flood are depicted as elegantly attired men and women with their top hats and fancy dresses, one of whom faints at the sight of the water. A summer pantomime *The Thames Tunnel; or, Harlequin Excavator* that premiered in June 1827 also placed the spotlight on the 'destruction of the machinery' by the 'irruption of the river.'[81] While all of these are more or less immediate reactions to the first flood, plenty of other examples followed in the ensuing years, as the shadow of the inundation continued to occupy people's mind. Even when the construction work had been suspended, which meant the danger of flooding should be significantly reduced, the trope of the Thames breaking in was referred to repeatedly. For instance, the satiric poem 'The Devil's Walk' in 1830 starts

[77] 'The Thames Tunnel, Most Alarming Accident,' *Morning Post*, 19 May 1827, 3, British Library Newspapers, Gale Primary Sources.
[78] See for example 'The Report of the Thames Tunnel,' *Examiner*, 20 May 1827, 314, British Library Newspapers, Gale Primary Sources.
[79] For example, in 'The Thames Tunnel,' *Morning Chronicle*, 29 September 1834, it is stated that the Tunnel 'is dry and warm, and the descent by the staircase easy and safe.'
[80] In *Metropolis on the Styx*, 267, Pike also argues that the mention of the bubble can also be understood as equating the speculation against natural forces in the construction of the Tunnel with the stock market collapse in 1825 prompted by economic speculation.
[81] David L. Pike, 'Underground Theater: Subterranean Spaces on the London Stage,' *Nineteenth Century Studies* 13 (1999): 116-117.

with lines referring to the flooding, although not blaming the actual Tunnel construction, but the 'Devil' for the damage: 'Now the Devil he made his entry first,/ Right up through the Thames Tunnel; / (It was his coming that made it burst,/ And not the works being done ill:).'[82] Pierce Egan's *Finish to the Adventures of Tom, Jerry and Logic* published in 1830 also did not miss the chance to satirize the situation this topical engineering project found itself in. George Cruikshank's illustration in the book shows Jerry and Logic, along with others, running out from the Tunnel, and two of them are even swimming in the water (Fig. 4.26). While the image brilliantly visualizes the anxiety of the danger of flooding that was probably on the mind of many visitors to the Tunnel, in the text, with Egan's usual satirical style, Jerry gives his verdict of this project: '[it] is really a noble undertaking; and in my humble opinion, calculated to be of great service to the country, and also prove a monument of the spirit, industry, and enterprise of Englishmen. I think its completion is practicable; and I hope the workmen will not stand still for the *tools*.'[83]

One way to interpret these satirical representations of visitors trapped in the flooded Tunnel is that they were intended to play upon anxieties about possible accidents in this underground space. Concerns like these can be analysed in the context of the mistrust of the middle classes towards technological progress, which could be felt in many other circumstances in this period. Although they turned away from the plight of the workers involved in industrial constructions, the English middle classes could not always escape the dangers and accidents brought by these projects. This fact contributed significantly to their developing a suspicious attitude towards industrial advancements—after all, jeopardized safety meant that the basis for the balancing act of sublimity was also gone, and sights of industrialization would only evoke terror and no delight.[84] The case of the development of railways probably illustrates this point most aptly. In his classical work *The Railway Journey*, Wolfgang Schivelbusch argues that whereas in the pre-industrial age, accidents were primarily

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[82] 'The Real Devil's Walk,' *Morning Post*, 3 July 1830, 3, British Library Newspapers, Gale Primary Sources. The mention of the Devil in the context of the Tunnel also demonstrates that despite the increasing association of the Tunnel with the sublime or the spectacle, the connection between the subterranean world with hell, as discussed in the previous sections, still had its place in the public discourse.

[83] Pierce Egan, *Pierce Egan's Finish to the Adventures of Tom, Jerry and Logic, in Their Pursuits through Life in and out of London* (London: Printed by C. Baynes . . . for G. Virtue, 1830), 125-6. Emphasis original.

[84] See Asa Briggs, *Iron Bridge to Crystal Palace: Impact and Images of the Industrial Revolution* (London: Thames and Hudson in collaboration with the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust, c1979), 12-14, for a classical discussion of this sentiment and its various ramifications. See also Herbert Lewis Sussman, *Victorian Technology: Invention, Innovation, and the Rise of the Machine* (Santa Barbara, Calif.; Oxford: Praeger Publishers, c2009), 1-3.

'grammatical and philosophical', in the nineteenth century they started to be associated increasingly with industrial and technological misfortune, especially those related to railways.[85] This incited fears about industrial advancements among the middle classes because only those with wealth and status could be the first to enjoy the railway, yet the technology that they wondered at and benefited from could turn against them at any moment.

It is thus not surprising that visitors to the Tunnel, a space that could also potentially become dangerous and even deadly, would develop similar anxieties about this space. On the first sight, the paper peepshow, with its idealized depiction that reiterates the progressive narrative of technological advancement and portrays the flood as an accident already resolved, appears to be a kind of representation that could help suppress these fears. Nevertheless, traces of the suspicion towards industrial structures find their way in the paper peepshow after all, in its ephemeral exhibition space.

This section continues to use the work by Gouyn, discussed in the previous section, as the main example. Ephemerality first comes from the temporal existence of the expanded paper peepshow space. As mentioned above, opening it creates the sensation of the Tunnel magically being built up. On the flip side of the coin, however, this feature also means that the representation exhibited in the work is transient, existing only in the space between cut-out panels and unable to be recorded or preserved. While the monument on paper can be swiftly built, it can be collapsed flat in an equally rapid manner. This ephemeral impression would thus not comply with the discourse of a solid and permanent Tunnel, intended to be conveyed by the cut-out panels. Instead, for the nineteenth-century users, such brief moments of exhibiting an image of the Tunnel might just as easily bring to mind their anxiety over the fate of the actual archways, which failed to prove their ability to withstand the raging Thames.

This impression would be further reinforced because of the fragile quality of the paper. As discussed, publishers of paper peepshows depicting the Tunnel used rather thin paper for the cut-out panels and bellows, which makes them quite easy to be torn. The fragility of the panels is aggravated by the fact that large sections of the paper are removed. During my visits to different archives, I noticed that this design

[85] Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1986), 131. For more on the theorization of railway accidents, see 129-133 in the same volume.

resulted in the situation that when I handled copies of this work (and other Tunnel paper peepshows), the panels often could not stand on their own.[86] The delicate texture of the paper means that the expanded space that showcases the Tunnel depends on the support of users' hands. Yet since it is very difficult to hold the panels steadily, the movement in the hands result in an inevitably shaking peep-view and the bellow structure is subject to constant changes of length and form. While as discussed in Chapter Two, the instability of the peep-view means that the users' 'active creation of belief' would be needed for a coherent scene to form, in works depicting the Tunnel, this phenomenon would have further significance. For nineteenth-century users, the structure would not just sometimes result in fragmented views but could also undermine the image of the stable Tunnel intended to be conveyed through the paper peepshow depiction. Presented through the wobbly paper, the archways would appear less fitting as the example of an engineering wonder to be marvelled at. Instead, the depiction might contribute to the fears that this underground space was not so indestructible as it appeared and reinforce the fact that it had become a site onto which the mistrust of middle classes towards industrial developments could be projected. The paper peepshows were designed to promise a dreamland of spectacles and sublimity, yet it could not hide the reference to the danger of disasters either.

Nonetheless, the anxieties about industrial advancements evoked by works like Gouyn's production could be contained because of the environment in which they would be consumed. As discussed in Chapter One, paper peepshows were used in a familial and intimate atmosphere, most probably in a domestic setting. Users would be relieved to know that the industrial monuments like the Tunnel that they feared could still be kept at a distance, for they had the option of engaging with representations of them from a homely environment, where safety was guaranteed. This impression would be further reinforced by the intermedial references to theatre in the paper peepshow. As the cut-out panels behind the front-face could evoke a miniature stage representing a different realm, users could also effectively maintain their distance from the scenes portrayed. The depiction in one German work makes this point explicit. Although the rest of this paper peepshow represents the imaginary view of the Tunnel, the first cut-out panel portrays figures sitting in a domestic

[86] Comparison with paper peepshows from the same period indicates that the paper used in works depicting the Tunnel is often thinner and of a worse quality. Although deterioration of the material should also be considered as a reason for the fragility of these works, it can be argued that the nature of the paper chosen and the way the panels are designed would mean that even in the nineteenth century, the delicate texture of the material would also be felt by users.

environment (Fig. 4.27).[87] As they look towards the back at the archways, it is as if they are enjoying the scene of the underground monument from a viewing box, separated from whatever might happen in this underground space.

Discussions above thus make clear that English paper peepshows about the Thames Tunnel before its completion—represented by the Gouyn example—constituted a distinct type of representation that helped their middle-class users interpret this engineering project, which combined confidence in industrialization with anxieties about it.[88] The idealized projection of the finished Tunnel in paper peepshows and some aspects of the experience of using them could help users imagine this subterranean space. This medium would also reiterate the discourse of the technological sublime that celebrated industrial progress while highlighting the nature of the archways as spectacles providing entertainment. However, this note of confidence in advancements could be undermined by the ephemeral nature of the exhibition space constructed by paper, which might remind middle-class users of their anxieties about this engineering wonder. Nonetheless, the cosy environment in which paper peepshows were consumed and the intermedial reference of this medium to theatre stage means that the fears evoked could be contained. It would seem that the discourse of the technological sublime and the spectacularization of industrial sites would have triumphed after all. For the middle-class users staying at home and distant from the actual construction site, English paper peepshows of the Tunnel, with their depiction equally far away from the true image of this monument, would help consolidate their confidence in and amazement at this project while indicating that while anxieties might be present, they could always be managed.

English Paper Peepshows of the Tunnel after its Completion (1843-1851)

On 25 March 1843, as the Thames Tunnel was officially opened to the public, associations with this space also changed. During its construction stage, it was perceived as a combination of the technological sublime and spectacle, but also an embodiment of fears and doubts over industrial advancement. After its completion, the multiple significances of this engineering project boiled down to one: a spectacular

[87] *The Thames Tunnel*, Anonymous, medium and dimensions unknown, pre-1843, 2016011, the V&A. Although the work's title is in English, the style of the structure, with the front-face functioning as the lid of the paper peepshow, and the gilt embossed strips, are typical of German design. German publishers very often produced their works with multilingual titles or a title in the language of the targeted market. Based on these reasons, it is most likely that this is a German work. See Ralph Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 35-36 for more discussion about German paper peepshow structural features.

[88] In *Notes on the Underground*, 66, Williams argues that it was common for anxieties about industrialization to be woven into images of man-made subterranean environment, which were 'simultaneously used as emblems of progress.'

site for public entertainment and pleasure. While the ceremonious parade on the day of the Tunnel's opening, as well as Queen Victoria's visit to it on 26 July 1843, were convincing proofs of the sturdiness of this monument, the finished appearance of the archways contributed to the making of them as a spectacle.[89] For instance, while before the completion of the Tunnel, going underground meant walking on 'little wooden stairs and along tottering planks' together with the 'creaking, crashing, whirring noises' of the machine, the finished entrances to the archways no longer held views of industrial roughness. Instead, with grand stairs and smooth arches, they looked like those to a grand mansion (Fig. 4.28), which was already imagined in several projected images of this space from the 1830s.[90] Terror, the emotional basis of sublimity, hardly left any traces in the face of such an image. This changed association with the Tunnel is made apparent on the front-face of a German paper peepshow. In the right corner, a woman sits in front of the entrance to the archways on a cumbersome chair that would fit much better with a cosy domestic setting, instead of an engineering wonder (Fig. 4.29).[91] This representation highlights that instead of sensations of awe and wonder, this space was considered as more closely linked to ideas of comfort and pleasure.

The removal of the sentiments of the technological sublime continued inside the archways, where the condition of the 'artificial infinite' was no longer available. Shortly after the opening of the Tunnel, various souvenir stands started to appear in it, along with different kinds of visual entertainments. As people discovered the potential of the archways as a commercial space, frescos were commissioned to decorate the walls, while the Thames Tunnel fete celebrating the anniversary of its opening also proved very popular.[92] According to the text in one of the paper peepshows, the archways were the space where one could find sellers of 'a great variety of Fancy Articles, Tea and coffee, (open all night) and other refinements,' while 'a splendid Diorama, and a Piano Forte played by a little Steam Engine' were located by the

[89] For details about the opening ceremony and Queen Victoria's visit, see Lampe, *The Tunnel*, 198-204.
[90] Kemble, *Records of a Girlhood*, 120. For a discussion of such projected images of the Tunnel entrances, see Pike, *Metropolis on the Styx*, 267.
[91] *The Thames Tunnel*, Anonymous, medium and dimensions unknown, c1843, 2014108, the V&A. For reasons why this work is considered to be German production despite the English title, see note 87 in this chapter.
[92] See John May, 'The Brilliant Bazaar,' in *The Triumphant Bore* (see note 1), 21-23 for details of the Tunnel archways after their completion, especially the commercial activities that happened in the Tunnel. However, I do not consider it fitting to term the commercial space in the archways as a bazaar. Although it is recorded that fancy articles were also sold in the archways, this space did not have the kind of restrictions on customer or sellers that would have been expected from a bazaar as discussed in Chapter 1. The surrounding area, the East End, did not provide the same exclusive atmosphere either.

Wapping shaft (Fig. 4.30).[93] In addition to enhancing the Tunnel's position as a spectacle, these shops, shows, and exhibitions also altered this space: the seemingly endless extension of the archways would appear less obvious as they grew crowded with people and objects, which obscured the eye from looking far ahead into the distance. There was nothing left to be feared, only a site of fantastical and commercial pleasure. Although also serving its original purpose of facilitating the crossing of the Thames, the Tunnel became much more famous as a tourist attraction. Even in August 1851, when the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park was at its height of popularity, with the cheap toll of just one penny, this place managed to admit more than double the number of visitors compared to the Crystal Palace.[94]

This underground space in a new stage would require a different kind of representation. Imaginary visions became unnecessary, and what was needed instead were portrayals of the spectacular archways, either as souvenirs to help preserve the memory of one's experience in them or as a means for those who could not visit the Tunnel to catch a glimpse of it. A considerable number of English paper peepshows were produced to serve this purpose.[95] Since this subterranean passage was already finished and considered as a sturdy monument, the fragile texture of the paper would probably no longer evoke concerns for the safety in the archways, while the formal similarities between the Tunnel and the paper peepshow could still be a selling point for the latter. The production of these post-1843 works was likely a result of the combined effect of the popularity of the subterranean archways and the changes undergone by the paper peepshow as a medium in England in the 1840s. A wide range of subject matters were featured in English paper peepshows produced between 1825 and the beginning of 1840. However, between 1843 and 1850, all the works identified so far depict the Tunnel exclusively. In contrast, in France and Germany, the other two countries where paper peepshows were produced in large quantities, works continued to portray various topics. The situation of the production of English works changed again around 1851. Many were published to depict the Crystal Palace while

[93] [*Thames Tunnel*] [d], designed by T. C. Brandon, published by Bondy Azulay, hand-coloured steel engraving and aquatint, c1843, Gestetner 243, the V&A.
[94] Pike, '"The Greatest Wonder of the World",' 356. Another important aspect of the Tunnel after its completion is that it quickly became haunted by crimes and danger at night. For a detailed discussion and theorization of the association of the Tunnel with criminals and prostitutes from the 1850s onwards, as well as its later transformation into a railway tunnel, see Pike, *Metropolis on the Styx*, 269-274.
[95] See Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' section 'Commemorative Objects (Nos 178-224),' 87-94, for extensive lists of other souvenirs in various formats and media, which include different kinds of optical entertainment other than the paper peepshow. Some of the souvenirs are not dated, so it is difficult to say whether all of them were produced after the completion of the Tunnel, although the depiction of the Tunnel in many would suggest that this is the case.

a small range of other themes also received some representation (this development will be discussed in Chapter Five).

The absolute focus on the Tunnel in English paper peepshows in the 1840s is the primary concern of the discussion here. Even though starting from 1843, publishers continued to produce the same type of works of this monument until the mid-1860s, it can be argued that the fundamental shift in the publication of paper peepshows with this topic occurred in the decade of the 1840s. The publication of Tunnel works between 1850 and the mid-1860s was more likely to be a result of producers' desire to keep exploring their works' commercial values, instead of their response to any relevant development in English visual culture or the changing position of the paper peepshow on the market. Thus, it is more appropriate to analyse works about the finished Tunnel in the period immediately after its completion, when the new model of paper peepshow with this topic first appeared.

As discussed in Chapter One, the constant drive for the new, intrinsic to consumer culture, was an important factor that led to the emergence of the paper peepshow. Almost twenty years after its initial appearance on the market, it would probably be increasingly difficult for this medium to continue attracting customers as its aura of novelty declined. While as will be discussed in Chapter Five, many sought to innovate the format of the paper peepshow in order to maintain its position on the market, this only happened later, in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the 1840s, it would seem that almost all publishers typically associated with this medium had left the scene. At the same time, producers whose business was not inherently relevant to it took advantage of its elongated shape and the immersive sensation it offered by using it to represent the Tunnel, rather than regarding it as a medium in its own right. Their production was considerable in numbers: altogether forty-one unique titles produced after the opening of this underground monument have been so far identified.[96] This resulted in significantly altering the nature of the paper peepshow—turning it into a means of representation exclusively reserved for this monument (albeit only until around 1850), thereby starting the first step of the evolution of this medium.

That English paper peepshows depicting the finished Tunnel differ from those made in the 1820s and 1830s can already be observed through an analysis of their producers. All but two works were the creations of two men, T. C. Brandon and the

[96] See Appendix III for details.

Jewish merchant Bondy Yomtob Azulay, with the latter playing a much longer and more dominant role on the market.[97] Both referred to themselves as the 'perspective view manufacture.' 'Perspective view' is the term the two used for the paper peepshow, probably intended to highlight the impression of depth generated in the peep-view as a selling point. Brandon and Azulay gave the address of their premises as 'Counter 46, Thames Tunnel, or 34, Paradise-street, Rotherhithe' and 'Counters 27, 41, and 62' respectively (Fig. 4.31 and Fig. 4.30).[98] From the imprint on their works, both took not only the role of the publisher but also the printer or designer.[99] While Brandon and Azulay had separate counters in the Tunnel, they also sometimes collaborated in their production, and their paper peepshows have much in common in terms of design, style, and content.[100] The text from Azulay's work indicates that he distributed his works by post too, and it is plausible that Brandon would offer a similar service. Not much is known about Brandon's business other than his paper peepshows. From the reverse of the cover of one of Azulay's work, it can be seen that he sold other printed materials as well, mostly depicting the Tunnel, while booklets of the same topic and a product titled *Grand Panorama of London and the River Thames* also belonged to his stock (Fig. 4.30).[101] The fact that the products by Brandon and Azulay dealt almost exclusively with this engineering wonder makes it clear that the main purpose of their business was to profit from the fame of this monument. On the contrary, producers of paper peepshows in the 1820s and 1830s, as demonstrated in Chapter One, were known for the quality and diversity of their ware, not association with any specific subject matter. Thus, it can be argued that all the products—including the paper peepshow—sold by Brandon and Azulay were marketed first and foremost as depictions of the Tunnel, and their unique characteristics as different media could be overshadowed as a result.

The sales venue of works by Brandon and Azulay, as well as their low quality, would mean that the paper peepshow gradually ceased to be marketed as a fancy article in the 1840s.[102] Sold in the Tunnel that was open to anyone who could afford

[97] See Hyde, *Paper Peephows*, 44 and 46, for biographical details of Azulay.
[98] Brandon also mentioned counters 5, 41, and 45 in some of his other works as his address. See ibid., 44, for details.
[99] See Appendix III for details of the imprint. In Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 46, he also mentions the diverse roles taken by Brandon and Azulay.
[100] For details, see Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 44.
[101] Elton, 'The Tunnel in Print,' 30. See also object No. 21 and No. 22 in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' section 'Books and Reports (Nos 1-55),' 38-40, for two examples of the booklets published by Azulay.
[102] As discussed in Chapter Five, some paper peepshows were again sold as fancy articles in the early 1850s.

the toll of just one penny, these paper peepshows would not be endowed with any aura of exclusivity associated with a central London bazaar or a high-end printseller's shop. It is not clear at what price did Brandon offer his product, but Azulay sold his works for one to four shillings (Fig. 4.30). By labelling them with different prices, Azulay would have effectively broadened the reach of his products to customers with various economic background. Now potentially within reach of those on the lower levels of the social ladder, the paper peepshow would thus no longer be perceived as the exclusive middle-class status-making object, but something that many more could get hold of.

Probably as a result of the cheap price, works by Brandon and Azulay have a much lower quality compared to works produced in the 1820s and 1830s, including works of the unfinished Tunnel by publishers like Gouyn. Brandon and Azulay's products were produced with slightly different structures too. No longer housed in slipcases but often in cardboard wallets, these works usually have more than one peep-hole and sometimes also a double-level structure. The crudeness of the production is visible from various aspects. The two publishers generally used repetitive imageries on the cut-out panels and only gave them different colours, which were applied in rough sweeps and dabs. Second-hand book covers were taken as covers to house the works, and sometimes prints intended for other media were simply taken and pasted on the front-face. Some of the figures in Brandon's works appear in a print featuring the finished Tunnel archway (Fig. 4.32 and Fig. 4.33). Although it is tempting to think that this print was a construction sheet, the lack of any instruction and other parts, such as the front-face, would put this conclusion into doubt.[103]

Apart from Brandon and Azulay, another publisher of Tunnel paper peepshows in this period is John Vandenburg Quick (also spelt as van den/der bergh/berg/burgh).[104] Although only one work by Quick has been so far identified, he is nonetheless important to the discussion here for two reasons—his connection with a paper peepshow construction sheet of the Tunnel (Fig. 1.14 and Fig. 4.34) and his engagement in producing other works representing this monument. Census and directory information indicates that while Quick was primarily working as a printer

[103] For more discussion of the possibility of the construction kit, see Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 46.
[104] Angela Quick, email to Catriona Gourlay, May 9, 2019. Angela Smith is a descendent of Quick and Catriona Gourlay is an assistant curator at the V&A who belongs to the team taking care of the Gestetner Collection. The content of the email derives from unpublished research by Judith Vandenbergh Green from the University of Adelaide Library, South Australia, who has researched the Vandenbergh family for more than ten years. The made-up work is [*Thames Tunnel*] [a], G. Purkis, c1843.

and engraver, having acquired his licence in 1832, he also took the role of the publisher sometimes and sold his own works.[105] His stock constituted mainly of cheap broadsheets, although he also sold some more high-end print materials, including 'Diorama Transparent Views' and 'Candlelight Amusements,' which are myrioramas.[106] As he was rather experienced in producing cheap prints that catered to the public's interest, it is hardly surprising that Quick would be drawn to the topic of the Tunnel. He took the counter no. 47, next to that of Brandon's, in the archway, where he also set up a printing press.[107] His most well-known production of this subject matter is probably the broadsheet named The Royal Thames Tunnel Paper (Fig. 4.35). The subheading boasts that it 'contain[s] every information and the correct dates of the various occurrences which took place during the Progress of this Great and Wonderful undertaking.' It is also highlighted that the broadsheet was 'printed under the Thames, 76 feet below High Water Mark' and produced '[b]y Authority of the Directors.'

It is thus clear that just like Brandon and Azulay, Quick—at least when he was selling cheap products from inside the archways under the Thames—was also someone who made his business from capitalizing on the Tunnel. This fact would have also underpinned the nature of the paper peepshow and its construction sheet that he sold. From the uncut version, it can be seen that the work is 'printed for and published by G. Purkis' (Fig. 1. 14), whose premises was at 60 Old Compton Street, London.[108] Yet Quick's name appears at the bottom of the image in the top-left corner. The board erected near the counter, as depicted in the panel in the bottom-left corner, indicates that what we see is Quick's stall in the Tunnel. In the description of the construction sheet, the 'Vandenbergh's drawing-book' is mentioned, which is no doubt a work by Quick. Given the strong presence of Quick in this print, it is almost certain that the work was designed and printed by him. Moreover, the fact that he had a counter and printing press in the archways makes it rather plausible that apart from producing the works for Purkis, Quick sold the sheet and the made-up copy himself

[105] Angela Quick, email to Catriona Gourlay, May 9, 2019.
[106] Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 44.
[107] Elton, 'The Tunnel in Print,' 29.
[108] In John Tallis, *John Tallis's London Street Views, 1838-1840: Together with the Revised and Enlarged Views of 1847* (Richmond: London Topographical Society, c2002), 180-181, 60 Old Compton Street, Soho is marked as the premises of Purkis, although in the construction sheet, Purkis listed his address as Compton Street. The two probably refer to the same person and the discrepancy in the street name is a result of urban development in London.

from his counter too.[109] While not much is known about the nature of the shop of Purkis on Old Compton Street, Quick's stall, as the other location where the paper peepshow and its construction sheet would probably be bought, provides important insight into how the products might have been presented. Sold at the price of no more than sixpence at most, these works were probably offered to customers from a wide range of economic background too, just like those by Brandon and Azulay. This price, the sales location, and the fact that these products were published by someone known for making cheap prints about the Tunnel, would have also made it difficult for Quick's paper peepshow or construction sheet to appear like a fancy article. The only exception to post-1843 English works of the Tunnel is one whose front-face is painted on a wooden board, and the rest of the panels housed in a wooden box (Fig. 4.36).[110] With delicately executed figures and carefully assembled panels, this work is of a much higher quality than others of the same topic. However, despite its sturdy structure, there is only one copy identified so far, which can be indicative of the limited popularity of this type of product. While this paper peepshow still deserves close examination, the lack of information about its production and distribution, as well as its limited presentation in archives, means that an in-depth analysis of it is quite difficult and beyond the scope of this thesis.

Apart from taking advantage of the formal similarities between the paper peepshow and the Tunnel, Brandon, Azulay, and Quick also utilized different design elements so that their works would function as appealing souvenirs to the Tunnel for customers who visited it and bought the works there. Even for those who could not make it to East London, the same design could very effectively cater to their wish of seeing this engineering wonder, if only virtually. Before investigating these works, it is worth first having a look at the relevant theoretical conceptualizations of the souvenir. As discussed above, Steward observes that the main function of the souvenir is to authenticate lived events through its material relation to the location of the experience. She also argues that these objects are inherently related to the 'insatiable demands of nostalgia,' as the experience represented by them belong to the past.[111] The fact that the materiality of such occasions is no longer available to us means that

[109] In 'The Tunnel in Print,' 29, Elton is certain that Quick sold the paper peepshow and its construction sheet from his counter in the Tunnel but did not elaborate on the evidence for it.
[110] *River Thames and the Tunnel*, Anonymous, hand-coloured lithograph, c1843, Gestetner 238, the V&A. In *Paper Peepshows*, 198, based on the style of lettering and figures of this work, Hyde speculates that it could be the product of the publisher Arthur and Archibald Park of Leonard Street in Finsbury, London, who produced the juvenile drama, *The Miller and His Men*.
[111] Stewart, *On Longing*, 135

they only continue to exist through narratives.[112] This association between past events and narrative is one of the reasons why the souvenir is 'by definition always incomplete.'[113] It needs to remain partial so that it can be supplemented by personal accounts of the occasion, told by its possessors.[114]

Another feature of the souvenir relevant to the discussion here is its function of domesticating the event related to it. According to the conceptualization of Stewart, usually produced in miniature form—just like the paper peepshow—these commemorative objects reduce the dimension of the occasion represented, transforming the external experience into something internal and personal and thereby moving what belongs to public history into private time.[115] Tori Smith further expands Stewart's argument and points out that this change from the external to the internal is not just simply a process of the shift in the ownership of the event. It also indicates the souvenir's function in offering a new way of interacting with what it represents, as the action of purchasing of such item signifies a kind of personal participation in public history too.[116]

Brandon, Azulay, and Quick highlighted the physical association of their works, either as assembled paper peepshows or as a construction sheet, with the Tunnel by always making clear that these objects were produced in their counters in the archways. Sometimes Azulay also branded his products as 'A Present from the Thames Tunnel' to further underscore this connection (Fig. 4.37). For those who visited these counters and bought paper peepshows as souvenirs, the information about their production would function to authenticate their visit by serving as proof that these visitors participated in the experience underground. Even for people who acquired these objects elsewhere, in Central London, by post, or as gifts, this design would serve an important purpose too. By drawing attention to the material relation paper peepshows had to the Tunnel, it could function to present them as traces of this space, a physical link that users could have to the underground archways although they were never there.

The actual content of these works differs considerably. Since Brandon and Azulay published similar-looking paper peepshows and often collaborated with each

[112] Ibid., 135.
[113] Ibid., 136.
[114] Ibid., 136.
[115] Ibid., 134 -139.
[116] Tori Smith, '"Almost Pathetic . . . but also Very Glorious": The Consumer Spectacle of the Diamond Jubilee.' *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 29, no. 58 (1996): 342.

other, their products can be considered as one type of works. These objects are typically characterised by the collage of different aspects of the Tunnel, including views of both entrances, Queen Victoria's visit, information about its construction and visitor numbers, and sometimes also a view of the river Thames. The work *A Perspective View of the Thames and the Thames Tunnel. History of the Thames Tunnel* [b] can be viewed as a typical example.[117] When we open the front cover, we first encounter a long text about the construction history of this monument, as well as its current state (Fig. 4.38). Many words are devoted to describing the diverse entertainments and souvenir counters available in the archways. The front-face features a print of Queen Victoria's royal visit to the Tunnel, which is an image that appears on many of Brandon and Azulay's works (Fig. 4.39). The image was taken from a freestanding print produced by Brandon, which derived partly from an engraving on the *Illustrated London News* on 5 August 1843 (Fig. 4.40 and Fig. 4.41).[118] Taking advantage of the well-known visit of the Queen by duplicating an image of it in an established newspaper in the paper peepshow would be a cost-efficient way to attract more customers. The cut-out panels, however, have very little to do with either the information in the text about visual entertainments or the front-face. Consisting of three sheets, they are divided into upper and lower parts, with the upper level depicting boats and ships on the Thames, and the lower part with repetitive and crudely executed figures strolling in rather bare-looking passages.

As a means of enabling those who had not been to the Tunnel to visualize it, this combination of different aspects of this space in the paper peepshow might be welcomed by users as it could provide information about this monument from various perspectives. When these works functioned as commemorative items, the collage can be understood to be an example of how the incompleteness of the souvenir, as theorized by Stewart, was used to help with the transformation of the external into the internal. The fragmented way through which portrayals of the Tunnel are presented in these works highlight the incomplete nature of commemorative objects, which need

[117] *A Perspective View of the Thames and the Thames Tunnel. History of the Thames Tunnel* [b], published by Bondy Azulay, hand-colour steel engraving, c1844, TA820. L8P46 1844, The Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology, Smithsonian Libraries, Washington D. C.

[118] Both parts of the print by Brandon was used for various paper peepshows. See Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' section 'Prints, Caricatures, Transformations, Drawings & Paintings (Nos 102-144),' 69-70, for details of the paper peepshows appropriating the print. There is no definite evidence to suggest who produced the image of the royal party first. However, given the fact that Brandon executed his works in a crude manner and paid little attention to details, in contrast to the effort of the *Illustrated London News* to distinguish itself as a quality, graphic newspaper, it is more likely that the former copied the engraving from the latter.

to be complemented by a narrative discourse. The collage pieces, therefore, could function like cues that helped nineteenth-century owners of the paper peepshow to retell a coherent story of their experience. The process of assembling diverse aspects of this subterranean space into one narrative using such a souvenir could be an effective way of transforming the experience of a public space into personal memory.

When sold as an assembled work, the paper peepshow by Quick would have performed few other functions than emphasizing its material relation to the Tunnel, as the focus of the depiction is the presence of Quick in the archways. However, as a construction sheet, the work could enable its owners to establish connections with this engineering wonder in more ways. The process of users assembling this paper peepshow would transform the mass-produced construction sheet into a unique, personal item. Consequently, it could privatize and internalize the public narrative of the Tunnel. Through this design, even those who did not visit this monument could develop their personal relation to it as they were offered the chance to participate in its commemoration by making a representation of it. The private connection between those who actually went to the underground archways and this space could also be reinforced. The fact that in the construction sheet, Quick specifically notes that using paper of a yellowish tint would give the finished work a better appearance, is also worth noting. The choice of the colour could be intended to give it an aged appearance, which can be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to realize the role of the souvenir in providing a nostalgic narrative. Even the Tunnel was newly opened, users were encouraged to present the experience of it deliberately as a remote event in the past, retrievable only through the aid of the narrative of a commemorative object, like the paper peepshow by Quick.

With the completion of the Tunnel, its meanings started to shift into a space of pure spectacular pleasure—at least during the daytime—without the sensation of sublimity. The need for different representations of it arose as a result and was partly fulfilled by paper peepshows. Comparatively inexpensive and rather crudely made, works by Brandon, Azulay, and Quick belonged to the world of cheap tourist tat that were aimed primarily to capitalize on the popularity of this engineering wonder. By deploying various design strategies, these producers managed to render their works as the appropriate form to help authenticate and privatize experience of the Tunnel, be it the actual, lived ones of visitors or the virtual ones of people who did not make their way to East London.

Conclusion

The paper peepshow is arguably most closely connected with the Thames Tunnel, not least because of the formal resemblance. Yet since many scholars simply view it as the souvenir to this monument, they have neglected many of the nuances in the meanings of this medium, which changed along with the state of this engineering wonder. This chapter argues that between 1825 and early 1843, the primary function of the paper peepshows depicting this subterranean passage should not be analysed primarily as commemorative items since their imaginary representation could hardly authenticate visitors' actual experience in Rotherhithe in East London. Sold in the centre of London, these objects would not have a material relation to what they represented either. Rather, the significance of these works lies in how in the eyes of their middle-class users, they could embody their ambivalent attitude towards technological advancement. On the surface, the idealized portrayal of the underground archways in these objects would cater to optimism in industrialisation. However, the materiality of the paper peepshow and its consumption experience would have the potential of reminding users of their fears about catastrophic consequences brought by industrial accidents. Nonetheless, such anxieties could be contained since these consumers did not need to expose themselves to potential dangers caused by technological projects like the Tunnel but could enjoy their domestic pastimes in a personal sphere reserved for intimate interactions.

With the completion of the Tunnel in 1843, fears over people's safety in it faded, and it demanded different representations, which the paper peepshow proved capable of providing. Using different techniques, publishers highlighted the material relation their products had to this engineering wonder and helped users create a personal interaction with it. The post-1843 paper peepshows represent not only a popular means of portraying the Tunnel but also the first step in the transformation of this medium, the subsequent development of which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Five

Depictions of Royal Events and the Evolution of the Paper Peepshow

In 1953, for the coronation of Elizabeth II, a paper peepshow titled *Picture Post Coronation Peep-Show Book* was published to represent the ceremony.[1] Twenty-five years later, the same topic appeared in another work, but with the focus on the portrayal of the procession.[2] This apparent interest of publishers in royal events as a subject matter of the paper peepshow was not a new phenomenon in the twentieth century. The first English work of such topic was produced already in 1831, and many others were published or made by amateurs in the twenty years that followed. These works constitute the focus of the analysis in this chapter, which, as in the previous chapter, also concerns itself with the evolution of the paper peepshow as a medium.[3] These works about royal occasions are important to my discussion because they represent a type of topic—current events—not yet examined in previous chapters. In fact, when the first of these works appeared in England, no other paper peepshows published since 1825 were ever devoted to representing contemporary events.[4] As will be discussed in the first section of this chapter, around the early 1830s, the visual entertainment industry was capitalizing on the increasing interest in topicality and current events, and the 'discovery' of royal occasions as a subject matter of paper peepshows can be considered within this context. The examination of this process and its subsequent development within the decade of the 1830s can shed light on some important strategies used by paper peepshow producers to keep the appeal of this medium when it was in the middle phase of its development, during these ten years.

In 1851, contemporary royal events were again featured in English paper peepshows: *Bailey Rawlins' [sic] Expanding View of the Queen's Visit to the Civic Entertainment* (hereafter *Queen's Visit to the Civic Entertainment*) and *Bailey*

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[1] *Picture Post Coronation Peep-Show Book*, designed and drawn by Edwin Smith, published by Hulton Press, offset lithograph, 1953, Gestetner 298, the V&A.

[2] *Tim's Telescopic View of Her Majesty's Coronation 1952 [sic] To Celebrate Her Majesty's Silver Jubilee 1977*, published by Tim's Telescopic Views, Banbury, offset lithograph, 1977, Gestetner 308, the V&A.

[3] This group of works does not include paper peepshows of the Thames Tunnel produced after 1843, which sometimes feature Queen Victoria's visit to the Tunnel. While this was a royal event, it was not the focus of depiction in these works. The same consideration applies to the two works depicting St. Leonard's-on-Sea, discussed in Chapter Three, which include a cut-out panel of Queen Dowager Adelaide.

[4] Although *The Areaorama, a View on the Thames*, S. & J. Fuller, c1825, contains cut-out panels representing the celebration of Lord Mayor's Day, the title of the work suggests that its depiction functions less as a portrayal of a specific event but a general topographical view of the Thames.

Rawlins's Expanding View of the Royal Visit to the City (hereafter *Royal Visit to the City*).[5] The paper peepshow was already in the late stage of its development, and to understand the significance of these two works, it is necessary to examine the general condition of this medium first. The early 1850s was when it was facing the danger of being made obsolete by the force of the market. The examination of some works representative of this period demonstrates how different publishers sought to maintain the position of the paper peepshow on the market by modifying its structure and giving it new functions. However, this strategy in fact transformed it into other media and did not result in preventing its further decline.

Queen's Visit to the Civic Entertainment and *Royal Visit to the City*, which incorporate a design in depicting current events that is very different from that used in works from the 1830s, exemplify another strategy that publishers used in reaction to the challenges posed by new developments in English visual culture. The discussion of these works engages with the concept of the dominant and the residual, proposed by Raymond Williams. It argues that instead of accepting the paper peepshow being pushed to the outskirt of the scene of visual entertainments, producers of these two works explored the potential of their products in becoming a residual cultural element. Since these two paper peepshows appropriated newspaper illustrations, they can also be used to examine a kind of relationship between the paper peepshow and the two-dimensional print that is different from what has been so far analysed.

The 'Discovery' of A New Topic in the 1830s

Within the initial five years since its appearance in 1825, the English paper peepshow was not used to represent a single royal occasion or current event in general. Published or homemade works from this period, the majority of which have been discussed or mentioned in previous chapters, deal almost exclusively with scenes of middle-class leisure activities, or landscape or city landmarks (including the Tunnel under construction as an attraction) popular among bourgeois consumers.[6] Several factors could have contributed to these subject matters being the typical choices of

[5] *Bailey Rawlins' Expanding View of the Queen's Visit to the Civic Entertainment*, published for the proprietor by C. A. Lane, chromolithograph, 1851, Gestetner 251, and *Bailey Rawlins's Expanding View of the Royal Visit to the City*, published by the proprietor and also by Charles Moody, chromolithograph, 1851, Gestetner 252. Both at the V&A.

[6] This can be clearly observed in Appendix II. The two prominent exceptions are the two paper peepshows produced by Thomas McLean around 1828, which depict the Battle of Waterloo (1815) and the Battle of Trafalgar (1805), as mentioned in Chapter 1. Rather than portraying current events, however, these two works fulfil a commemorative function given the time lapsed between the publication date of the works and the date when the battles took place.

paper peepshow publishers or amateur makers. As this medium was presented on the market as a fancy article, an object of little utilitarian value and intended for light amusement, the leisure life of the middle classes could be considered as a subject matter that could match with this role of the paper peepshow better than current events. One further factor might explain the absence of royal occasions in particular in paper peepshows before 1831. The reigning monarch of the time, King George IV (r. 1820-1830), was almost unprecedentedly unpopular with his subjects.[7] It is thus unlikely that many amateur makers would have had an interest in including him in their creations. Similarly, the reception of the king would have provided few reasons for commercial products representing royal events to be created, as they might not be able to attract many customers because of their link with the unpopular king.

What, then, prompted producers of paper peepshows to change their minds and consider royal occasions as a possible topic? The need to further explore the commercial potential of this medium and to take advantage of the growing interest in visual representations of current events, especially royal occasions, were some of the most probable motivations. Within the five years since the initial appearance of the paper peepshow, it had already established its role as a medium primarily used in portraying scenes or sites of middle-class leisure activities and city landmarks. However, as consumer culture constantly cultivated the desire for the new, the paper peepshow could risk losing its attraction and novelty among customers if it stayed unchanged for too long. A new topic might help make the paper peepshow appear novel and fresh again. The subject matter of current events, especially royal occasions, would be a suitable candidate in the early 1830s for various reasons. This was the period when a new perception for contemporaneity and dailiness, one manifestation of which was the increasing interest in current events and news, started to become relevant for a growing amount of people in England.[8] Many factors led to this phenomenon. The process of industrialization demanded an unprecedented acceleration of communication, and due to technological advancement, such wish was

[7] There is extensive discussion on the unpopularity of George IV. See Susie L. Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London; New York, N.Y.: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017), 183 for a brief summary of the perception of monarchy among the public during the reign of George IV.

[8] I adopt here one of the main meanings of the word 'news' as defined by *Oxford English Dictionary*, which is 'The report or account of recent (esp. important or interesting) events or occurrences, brought or coming to one as new information; new occurrences as a subject of report or talk; tidings.' Oxford English Dictionary, Online, s.v. 'news, n.' (Oxford University Press, June 2020), accessed June 1 2020, https://www-oed-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/Entry/126615?rskey=FSqFq4&result=3&isAdvanced=false.

realized as information was now circulated quicker than ever, which influenced people's perception of time.[9] At the same time, the process of urbanization and standardization of labour resulted in the growing desire for extraordinary events.[10] This was fulfilled partly by newspapers, which were rapidly expanding since the beginning of the century and appearing in larger numbers and much higher and more regular frequency so that by the third decade of the 1800s, daily news was already an established concept.[11] However, as has already been pointed out, the development of newspapers in this period needs to be analysed in relative terms. The existence of the Stamp Duty, the so-called 'tax on knowledge', which was reduced in 1836 but only fully abolished in 1855, means that for most of the English population in the 1830s, daily newspapers remained a luxury item and delayed, instead of current news was what they had access to.[12] For these people, their perception of contemporaneity was developed through other media such as cheap prints and public shows in the city.[13] Nonetheless, for middle-class users paper peepshows, who could afford to spend five to eight shillings on a paper-based fancy article, they would have been in the position to already benefit from the accelerated and regular distribution of news.

The interest in topicality and current events was quickly capitalized by the industry of visual and optical entertainments, from the panorama to the theatre, which put on shows representing recent events and are often considered as the forerunner of the newsreel in scholarly discussions.[14] However, as Clare Pettitt rightly argues, such analogy does not take into consideration the complex experience offered by these media.[15] Taking the panorama as the example, she points out that due to the time taken for preparation, these entertainments were seldom capable of showing the most

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[9] Henrik Ornebring, 'A Necessary Profession for the Modern Age?: Nineteenth Century News, Journalism and the Public Sphere,' in *Media and Public Spheres*, ed. Richard Butsch (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 76.

[10] Pettitt, *Serial Forms*, 169-172.

[11] Ibid., 37; Hannah Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society 1695-1855* (Harlow: Longman, 2000), 1-2. The exact definition of 'newspaper' is a topic of scholarly debate. For the argument in this chapter, I adopt the relatively broad definition, as used by Barker in *Newspapers*, 2, which encompass publications that appeared at the regularity of at least weekly and 'contained a significant amount of "news".'

[12] The situation of the delayed access to daily news lasted longer than the 1830s, but that is out of the scope of the discussion here.

[13] See Pettitt, *Serial Forms*, in particular 29-68, but also 12-14, 108-147, for a discussion of how in the absence of regular, timely, and reliable news from stamped newspapers, the poorer English population became familiar with the notion of contemporaneity and dailiness in the first half of the nineteenth century through other means. Although Pettitt focuses her analysis on London, the situation of the Stamp Duty and its influence on the poor could be experienced in the whole of England.

[14] See for example Friedberg, *Window Shopping*, 24 and Hyde, *Panoramania*, 38 for discussions of the panorama being such a medium. See Meisel, *Realizations*, 33-34 for a similar argument about theatre.

[15] Pettitt, *Serial Forms*, 140-141.

current events—or news, and thus did not actually performed the role of the newsreel.[16] Instead of their provision of the latest information, Pettitt contends, the appeal of these media lay in the way that their naturalistic representation and immersive environment effectively enabled the audience to develop an affective response to the depicted world and have an embodied interaction with it.[17]They could thus experience the scenes represented as live, as if being there in the virtual world when the event unfolded, while also feeling alive and present in the actual venue of the shows.[18] The success of these entertainments, with the feeling of liveness they created, could have inspired English paper peepshow producers to start using current events as a subject matter. Of course, as discussed in previous chapters, the panels are not executed in naturalistic realism, so that a similarly effective live experience would have been hardly possible to reach. Nonetheless, the immersive environment created by the three-dimensional peep-view would still enable users to take pleasure in imagining being at least closer to, if not part of the world depicted on the panels. At the same time, unlike media such as the panorama, the paper peepshow could be produced quickly enough to depict current events before they were out of date. It is thus probable that producers would consider the paper peepshow of contemporary news as a commercially viable object to put on the market, as it catered to consumers' interest in and wish to participate in the latest major events.

Such works were already published in France and German in the 1820s.[19] Since products from the Continent often found their way to the English market, manufacturers in England would have more reasons to be convinced about the potential of portraying news with their paper peepshows. Unlike their Continental counterparts, who used this medium to represent a wide range of events, English producers focused exclusively on royal events. The reason for their preference might be that these occasions were usually announced in advance. The preparation of

[16] Ibid., 140-141.
[17] Ibid., 125-129
[18] Ibid., 140-142. Note that Pettitt's discussion here focuses on the significance of this experience of liveness to the formation of 'a new consciousness of the present and of the experience of "present time"' among the poorer population who could not have access to regular or reliable news (147). Nonetheless, it can be argued that the feeling of liveness in these entertainments was an experience that also occurred to the middle classes, who were also patrons of shows like these.
[19] They include two French works depicting the coronation of Charles X in 1825: *Optique No. 2 Intérier d'Eglise* [one version], Anonymous, hand-coloured etching, 14.3 x 12 x 45 cm (expanded), c1825, Gestetner 21; *Areaorama No. 2*, Anonymous, hand-coloured steel etching, 14.5 x 12 x 49 cm (expanded), 1825, Gestetner 22; and a German work portraying an incident in the Russo-Turkish War (1828-1829): *Uebergang über den Balkan./ Passage du Balcan./ The Passing across the Balcan* [sic], published by LF, hand-coloured etching, 12 x 14.8 x 48 cm (expanded), c1829, Gestetner 76. All works at the V&A.

products could already start before the event took place so that they could be presented to costumers rather quickly after the occasion.[20] Moreover, since with the coming to the throne of William IV (r. 1830-1837), the reputation of the royal household experienced a gradual recovery, it would not be as undesirable to portray royal events as before.[21]

While the discussion above is speculative, the following analysis of how the first English work depicting a royal event came into being can provide further evidence. In 1829, the work *View of the Mall in St. James's Park* [a] appeared on the market, which depicts the Park with an unidentified parade taking place on the Horse Guards Parade, and the same work was re-issued in 1830 with only minimal changes (Fig. 5.1).[22] Initially created under the order of King Henry VIII, St. James's Park has been closely associated with the royal household. This is something that the producers of these works did not forget to emphasize on the front-face, where several lines sketching the history of the Park focus on detailing the royal association (Fig. 5.2). As part of the same project that also resulted in the creation of Regent's Park, St. James's Park underwent a major makeover in the late 1820s, with John Nash as the designer; the project was finished in 1828.[23] Despite the depiction of the parade, the lack of reference to any specific occasions suggests that these two paper peepshows were not intended to represent a particular event. Rather, it is more probable that the scene was included as a spectacle signature of the Horse Guards Parade in the Park. Given the date of publication, the main motivation for the production of the two works would have been more likely to be the recent renovation of the Park. Similar to the paper peepshow *The Areaorama, a View in the Regent's Park*, published in 1825 to cater to the curiosity about the newly-built Regent's Park, these two works of St. James's Park were probably also produced to appeal to customers' interest in projects of metropolitan improvement.[24]

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[20] This type of paper peepshows depicting royal events would have probably functioned as souvenirs too. Since the role of the paper peepshow as a souvenir has been discussed in Chapter Four, this chapter will focus only on its function of providing visual representation of news.

[21] While scholars often consider the Victorian reign as the period when the British monarchy reached an unprecedented popularity in the nineteenth century, William IV was also, at least for some periods, well-received among his subjects. For comments on the initial popularity received by William IV, see Roger Knight, *William IV: A King at Sea* (London: Allen Lane, 2015), 69-70. For more discussions about the public's opinion of William IV, which shifted several times largely due to the king's handling of the Reform Bill, see 69-86 in the same volume.

[22] *View of the Mall in St. James's Park* [a], Anonymous, C. Essex & Co., 1829; *View of the Mall in St. James's Park* [b], Anonymous, 1830.

[23] For more history of the Park, see 'Landscape History,' The Royal Parks, accessed 3 March 2020, https://www.royalparks.org.uk/parks/st-jamess-park/about-st-jamess-park/landscape-history.

[24] *The Areaorama, a View in the Regent's Park*, S. & J. Fuller, 1825.

However, when the St. James's Park paper peepshow appeared again on the market in 1831, the focus of the subject had shifted. The line *His Majesty Proceeding to the House of Lords* is added on the slipcase, and the title on the front-face was updated to *View of St. James's Park during the Progress of His Majesty to the House of Lords, 21st June 1831* (hereafter *The Progress of His Majesty to the House of Lords*) (Fig. 5.3 and Fig. 5.4).[25] Apart from the titles, the work has only a few changes that reflect the new subject matter—the monarch's opening of the parliament: the depiction of park visitors on the last cut-out panel is now a scene of the stagecoach of King William IV, while on the back-scene there are more spectators attending the event.

The transformation from the two works *View of the Mall in St. James's Park* to *The Progress of His Majesty to the House of Lords* is significant as it clearly demonstrates how producers of these paper peepshows made use of an existing work to develop a new topic.[26] The event in the latter work is related to the progress of the Reform Bill, which was at the centre of attention of the English society for the first two years of the King's reign. For bourgeois consumers of paper peepshows, the Bill was particularly significant as it would enable the recognition of the power of the middle classes and their inclusion in the political establishment.[27] The development of the Bill in the summer of 1831 was particularly crucial. After the dissolution of the parliament in spring 1831, the popularity of William IV reached its peak as the event made clear the King's support for the reform.[28] The opening of the new parliament in June the same year was thus viewed as a step that promised to bring the nation closer to the passing of the Reform Bill, as the *Standard* makes clear: 'this being the day fixed for the opening of the Session by his Majesty in person, when the great measure of Reform, as it is called, is to be admitted to parliament, and upon the result of which the future prosperity of the empire so much depends.'[29] Naturally, the event was

[25] *View of St. James's Park during the Progress of His Majesty to the House of Lords, 21st June 1831*, Anonymous and C. Essex & Co., 1831.
[26] The almost identical looks of these three works, the fact that they all bear the line 'published by the engraver,' and that two of them were sold by the same company, strongly suggest that they were published by the same producer. See Appendix III for details of the imprint.
[27] See Richard Williams, *The Contentious Crown: Public Discussion of the British Monarchy in the Reign of Queen Victoria* (Aldershot, England Brookfield, Vt.: Ashgate Pub. Co., 1997), 191; F. K. Prochaska, *Royal Bounty: The Making of the Welfare Monarchy* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 1995), 49-50, for more detailed discussions on the political significance of the Reform Bill for the middle classes.
[28] For details on the Reform in this period, see Knight, *William IV*, 73-75.
[29] 'Opening of Parliament,' *Standard*, 21 June 1831, 2, British Library Newspapers, Gale Primary Sources.

received by the public with much enthusiasm, which was well documented in *The Times*:

> By 1 o'clock the line of road between the Palace and the Houses of Parliament was flanked by either side by a multitude larger than we ever saw assembled on any similar occasion. At about 20 minutes to 2 o'clock His Majesty . . . proceeded, amidst the warm and enthusiastic acclamations of the people [.]
>
> It is almost impossible to convey an accurate notion of the enthusiasm which His Majesty's presence excited in his progress to and from Palace-yard. The people seemed to be intoxicated with joy, and gave utterance to their feelings in loud and repeated shouts.[30]

The quote conveys the public's excitement about the opening of the parliament. There would have likely to be much desire for representations about the procession, both verbal and visual. However, what was available in the press or other media might prove insufficient to satisfy such demands. For instance, although the article from *The Times* contains some description of the crowd and the King's carriage in St. James's Park, it does not treat the procession as an event in its own right. Instead, the report of it is included in a much longer article that focuses on the King's speech in the parliament, under the section 'Parliamentary Intelligence.' Other newspapers and periodicals, which contain much less information about the event, also adopted a similar kind of category for their articles. Moreover, it appears that this procession was not considered as a topic that would deserve much visual representation either. Apart from a few freestanding prints and paintings depicting William IV in the House of Lords, no press illustration or depiction in popular public entertainments about any other aspects of the King's opening of the parliament has been identified so far. The procession of William IV, as much as it excited the crowd, actually only received brief coverage.

This gap between what was available on the market and the demands of consumers was exactly what the producer of *The Progress of His Majesty to the House of Lords* sought to bridge with this work. By focusing on the procession, s/he could take advantage of the existing paper peepshow panels to reduce the cost of production.

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[30] 'Parliamentary Intelligence,' *The Times*, 22 June 1831, 1, *The Times* Digital Archive, Gale Primary Sources.

It would also mean that the work could be put on the market more quickly, before this event was no longer current. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that some panels are not one piece of paper but made by having a print clipping pasted onto the middle of the board, presumably to save the cost and time of production (Fig. 5.5).[31] The rest of the paper peepshow was executed in a rather rough manner too. The cut-out panels were printed in a crude style and would have conveyed very little specific information about the event. Most of the human figures do not have very clearly drawn facial features; their posture is stiff, repetitive and sometimes even awkward in anatomy. Even the supposed focus of the procession, William IV, did not receive the attention he would have deserved. Depicted on the last cut-out panel, the King is small in size and might be overlooked when one looks through the peep-hole. When viewed at a closer distance, it becomes clear that the representation is far from satisfactory, for all that one can see is just a nebulous outline of a man in blue, instead of a recognizable portrayal of William IV (Fig. 5.6). It would seem that enabling customers to imagine being closer to or taking part in the scene—the king's procession—through the paper peepshow was considered by the producer as much more important than whether this object conveyed any useful information about the occasion.

Was this new business idea a success? Since there is no archival evidence about the reception of *The Progress of His Majesty to the House of Lords*, it is impossible to answer this question with any certainty. Nevertheless, that it at least had some resonance among consumers can be demonstrated by a watercolour homemade paper peepshow, *View of St. James's Park and Her Majesty Queen Victoria Going to the House of Lords*.[32] The work followed the published paper peepshow very closely. Apart from some changes to the depiction of the onlookers in the Park, the only major differences are the royal carriage on the last panel, now with female figures, and the increased number of spectators depicted on the back-scene (Fig. 5.7).

This work has been dated by Ralph Hyde to around 1837 and was most probably intended by its maker as a representation of Queen Victoria's (r. 1837-1901) first opening of the parliament. The accession of the new monarch, who was '[y]oung, female, attractive, politically innocent yet with decidedly Whiggish sympathies,' signalled the beginning of a reign markedly different from those of the Hanoverian

[31] Due to technical difficulties, pictures of the panels of this work at Yale Center for British Art could not be made. I thus use images of the panels of the copy at London Metropolitan Archives for this illustration and the next one since the panels look identical across different copies.
[32] *View of St. James's Park and Her Majesty Queen Victoria Going to the House of Lords*, Anonymous, pen and ink and watercolour, c1838, Gestetner 232, the V&A.

kings.[33] Victoria's first opening of the parliament thus naturally excited much public attention. Yet similar to the case of William IV, even when a few paintings and freestanding prints of the scenes inside the House of Parliament were produced, it appears that no visual representation of the procession in St. James's Park was made. The fact that an amateur maker would have thought of using a paper peepshow to fill this absence and taking a design that was already six years old can indicate the influence of *The Progress of His Majesty to the House of Lords*, as well as the successful establishment of the connection between this medium and royal event.

In addition, the subsequent publication of English paper peepshows depicting other royal events can suggest that this new category of subject matter proved to be a somewhat viable business choice. The sales of the three published works discussed above were managed by C. Essex & Co, the same retail company that also sold a paper peepshow about fox hunting and one about the Thames Tunnel in the 1820s, as discussed in Chapter One. However, shortly after the appearance of *The Progress of His Majesty to the House of Lords*, Charles Essex started to publish paper peepshows on his own and chose a royal event for his first work, *The Coronation in the Abbey of St Peter's Westminster, of His Majesty King William IVth and Queen Adelaide* (hereafter *The Coronation of William IVth and Queen Adelaide*).[34] As will be discussed below, he then proceeded to publish works of royal occasions exclusively and produced two such works.[35] Having worked in the selling of paper peepshows for some years, Charles Essex would have gained an understanding of the performance of works about different topics on the market. Thus, the fact that he decided to start producing paper peepshows himself and chose no other topic than royal events can

[33] Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 18. For examples of similar sentiments expressed in contemporary press, see for example 'The Opening of Parliament by Our Youthful Queen,' *Essex Standard*, 24 November 1837, 2, British Library Newspapers, Gale Primary Sources, which describes the event as 'present[ing] one of the most interesting spectacle that can be witnessed by a free and enlightened nation.' Despite the emphasis on the difference between Queen Victoria and her predecessors, Victoria was not always cast as their opposite either, especially in relation to William IV. For a relevant discussion see, for example, Cindy McCreery, 'The Sailor, the Lover, the Husband and the King: Images of William IV and Change and Continuity in Visual Representations of Elite English Society, 1765-1832,' in *Revisiting the Polite and Commercial People: Essays in Georgian Politics, Society and Culture in Honour of Professor Paul Langford*, eds. Elaine Chalus and Perry Gauci (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 92-93. It can thus be argued that using a paper peepshow originally depicting William IV as the model for the representation of Victoria would not necessarily appear inappropriate.

[34] *The Coronation in the Abbey of St Peter's Westminster, of His Majesty King William IVth and Queen Adelaide*, James Robert Thompson and C. Essex, 1831.

[35] Interestingly, starting from *The Coronation of William IVth and Queen Adelaide*, all the three works published by Charles Essex only bear his own name, not the company's, even though two of them appeared before the business partnership dissolved at the end of 1831. It is, however, impossible to tell whether this was just a coincidence or that the production of this work had led to disagreement between Charles Essex and his partner.

indicate that he was convinced of the commercial potential of this topic after observing the success of *The Progress of His Majesty to the House of Lords*.

Compared to the opening of the parliament, the coronation would offer more potential commercial rewards because of the much wider interest it sparked among the public; at the same time, however, there would also be more competition from other media.[36] *The Coronation of William IVth and Queen Adelaide* demonstrates how the Essex, together with the artist for this work, highlighted certain features of the paper peepshow and distinguished it on the market. Before examining this work in detail, however, it is helpful to briefly survey the reception of the ceremony by the public, and its representation in some other media.

The coronation of William IV and Queen Adelaide on 8 September 1831 excited much enthusiasm in society. *The Times*, for instance, referred to William IV as the monarch who 'reigns in the hearts of his people,' and whose coronation ceremony posed a stark contrast to that of George IV, as demonstrated by 'the enthusiastic eagerness of homage and personal affection which attended the procession [leading to the coronation of William IV.]'[37] The heightened interest the public had for the coronation was partly manifested through their desire to gain information about the event, which was fulfilled by various media. The press gave extremely detailed accounts of the event, covering every aspect of the procession and the ceremony and bombarding their readers with details.[38] Some periodicals, such as *Bell's Life in London, and Sporting Chronicle* (11 September 1831), which had a wide appeal that cut across classes, also included illustrations of scenes inside the

[36] In David Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the "Invention of Tradition," c.1820-1977,' in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 101-164, Cannadine argues that the first three quarters of the nineteenth century in Britain were marked by a rather negative, even hostile attitude towards royal ceremonies among the public, mainly due to the unpopularity of the royal household, but also its very inability to carry out ceremonies properly. The coronation of William IV and Victoria were considered by Cannadine as examples of the low points of royal ceremonies. While his methodology of assessing ceremonies not as unchanged events but in the context of the wider society is influential and valuable, his conclusion has been critiqued by many scholars. That monarchy was not necessarily unpopular during the reign of William IV and the early Victorian period has already been discussed above. Moreover, as Williams in *The Contentious Crown*, 232-240, points out, Cannadine's characterization of the first three quarters of the nineteenth century as unfavourable to royal spectacles needs to be modified, as there was actually a considerable interest in royal pageantry, which was considered as an important function of monarchy. This was especially true in the case of coronations, regarded as a service done for the people. Williams's argument mainly concerns the early reign of Victoria (1837-1861), but as the primary source below indicates, a similar situation can also be observed with William IV.

[37] 'The Coronation,' *The Times*, 9 September 1831, 1, *The Times* Digital Archive. Gale Primary Sources.

[38] See for example ibid., 1-2.

Westminster Abbey alongside the text (Fig. 5.8).[39] Visual representation of the occasion in other formats was also available, ranging from the traditional freestanding prints to theatre performances and a panorama, all of which appearing with incredible speed and concentrating mostly on the coronation ceremony.[40]

For Charles Essex, this proliferation of visual materials of the coronation would mean that his paper peepshow needed to be produced in a way that could help it distinguish itself from other products on the market. Examination of *The Coronation of William IVth and Queen Adelaide* demonstrates that Essex achieved this task successfully. Whereas in other pictorial representations, such as the press illustration mentioned above, the King occupies the prominent position in the image, this is the opposite case in this paper peepshow. Similar to *The Progress of His Majesty to the House of Lords*, this work depicting the coronation also places William IV in an easily overlooked position, at the bottom of the fourth cut-out panel. Different factors might have led to this curious treatment of hiding away the most important person at the ceremony. The artist for the work was James Robert Thompson, who was an architectural draughtsman and had drawn the Henry VII Chapel of Westminster Abbey before.[41] He might have proposed the design to take advantage of his skills and familiarity with the building. It is also possible that Essex intended to recycle this design for the next paper peepshow depicting a royal occasion taking place in the Abbey—after all, the old age of William IV could mean that the next coronation might not take too long to happen. As discussed below, the work was indeed appropriated for portraying the coronation of Victoria. More importantly, the arrangement of the panels might result from a strategy intended to help differentiate Essex's work from others on the market. By moving the focus away from the King, this works focuses instead on conveying the atmosphere of the spectacular royal pomp of the coronation, which results in highlighting the feature of the paper peepshow in bringing users closer to the occasion. The miniature size of the King is set in contrast with the towering architectural elements in the Westminster Abbey, which are portrayed in

[39] 'Coronation of the King,' *Bell's Life in London, and Sporting Chronicle* X, no. 494, 11 September 1831, 2, Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals, Gale Primary Sources. See Leah Richards and Maurice Milne, '*Bell's Life in London, and Sporting Chronicle* (1822-86),' in *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, eds. Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (Gent; London: Academia Press; British Library, c2009), 46-47, for information about this periodical.
[40] See for example, 'Coronation,' *Morning Post*, 5 September 1831, 1, British Library Newspapers, Gale Primary Sources, for an advertisement by the *Court Journal*, which promises its subscribers 'a most copious and accurate Description of the Ceremony of the Coronation' and also a portrait of William IV in his coronation robe. See also 'Surrey Theatre' and 'City Theatre, Milton-street, Fore-street,' *Age*, 18 September 1831, 297, Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals, Gale Primary Sources.
[41] Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 192.

saturated colours and occupy the majority of the cut-out panels and almost obscure William IV. The emphasis on the interior of the Abbey draws attention to its grandeur and the royal pageantry of the ceremony (Fig. 5.9). This focus of the depiction works in tandem with the three-dimensional peep-view and the immersive experience. The portrait orientation and the above-average amount of eight panels result in dramatizing the perspective and enhancing the sense of depth, effectively drawing users into the paper peepshow world and heightening the immersive sensation. Consequently, when nineteenth-century consumers looked through the peep-hole, they might have a strong sense of being part of the depicted scene, and the grandeur of the Abbey and the ceremony could appear more impressive in turn as users were brought closer to appreciate it.

The significance of *The Coronation of William IVth and Queen Adelaide* to the development of English paper peepshows is twofold, which can be demonstrated with the three works depicting royal events that were produced after it, all within the decade of the 1830s. On the one hand, Essex published *The Installation of the Knights of the Garter in the Chapel of St. George, Windsor* (hereafter *The Installation of the Knights of the Garter*) around 1831 with the cut-out panels executed in a very similar manner, that is, with a focus on the perspective and the grandeur of the architecture and little attention to the people present at the ceremony (Fig. 5.10).[42] Long known for its lavishness and exclusivity, the installation ritual of the Order of Garter was an important form through which royal pomp could be showcased.[43] However, no such ceremony took place in the 1830s—in fact, there was no installation between 1805 and 1948, and the knights were only 'invested' in private ceremonies or at court in this period.[44] The work thus functioned not as a visual representation of a current event, but a fictional depiction. This product is important as it can suggest to a certain extent the positive reception *The Coronation of William IVth and Queen Adelaide* received. The success of this work about the coronation could have been a factor that convinced Essex that the combination of the paper peepshow and royal pageantry as such was a valuable business idea, which did not need to depend on the interest sparked by any actual contemporary events.

[42] *The Installation of the Knights of the Garter in the Chapel of St. George, Windsor*, James Robert Thompson and Charles Essex, c1831.
[43] Stephanie Trigg, *Shame and Honor: A Vulgar History of the Order of the Garter* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, c2012), 46-47.
[44] See ibid., 39 for details on the process of installation.

On the other hand, it can be argued that the same work established a design model that emphasized pageantry and atmosphere over details of events for subsequent works that did portray royal occasions. For the funeral of William IV in 1837, which was extensively covered by the press, sometimes also visually, Essex also published a paper peepshow.[45] As this occasion took place in the Chapel of St. George at Windsor too, Essex had the design of *The Installation of the Knights of the Garter* adopted, with the only changes being the reduced number of cut-out panels and some details that reflect the people involved in the funeral in the Chapel.[46] *The Coronation of William IVth and Queen Adelaide* was also recycled for the same ceremony of Victoria in 1838, with the cut-out panel portraying the monarch updated with the image of the Queen (Fig. 5.11).[47] The reuse of the design probably resulted partly from producers' cost-saving practice. After all, Essex had already experience of it when his company sold paper peepshows appropriated from existing works. The practice of recycling previously published materials in representing current events was not an unusual practice in the field of visual entertainments in this period either.[48] However, the repetitive use of the same style of design, first appeared in *The Coronation of William IVth and Queen Adelaide*, can also suggest paper peepshow producers' conviction of it being a model of visual representation that could bring business success. Importantly, the publisher responsible for the work depicting Victoria's coronation is no longer Charles Essex, but Charles Tilt, the Fleet Street printseller. From the case study of the Thames Tunnel in Chapter Four, it is clear that when a popular paper peepshow design became available on the market, due to the lack of copyright protection, pirate copies would be almost inevitable. In Tilt's work, the artist James Robert Thompson is not mentioned despite the design that looks almost identical to the paper peepshow of the coronation of William IV. This can be

[45] *The Ceremony of Interring His Majesty William the 4th in the Chapel of St. George, Windsor*, James Robert Thompson and Charles Essex, 1837. The interest in royal funerals was also high among the public, and a proper commemorative market had formed around such occasions. For a detailed discussion of reports on and commodities produced for the funeral of William IV, see Paul S. Fritz, 'The Trade in Death: The Royal Funeral in England, 1685-1830,' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 3 (Spring 1982): 291-316.

[46] For a description of how the works depicting the installation of the Knights of the Garter and the funeral of William IV differ, see Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 189.

[47] *Perspective View of the Coronation of Queen Victoria in Westminster Abbey, June 26, 1838*, Charles Tilt, 1838. See Plunkett, *Queen Victoria*, 95-97, for a discussion on the extensive visual representation the coronation received.

[48] Famously, in Charles Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend*, ed. Michael Cotsell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 690, he describes how an itinerate peepshow had been displaying a print that 'had originally started with the Battle of Waterloo, and had since made it every other battle of later date by altering the Duke of Wellington's nose.'

an indication that Tilt appropriated the work published by Essex without the permission from the latter. In any case, the fact that Tilt produced this work can suggest that in the late 1830s, royal events were more widely considered as a commercially viable topic for the paper peepshow since a publisher other than Essex also showed interest in this subject matter. During the 1830s, it appears that the paper peepshow depicting contemporary royal occasions performed well on the market as its three-dimensional, immersive structure catered to consumers' interest in current events and being closer to or participate in the important occasions. However, ten years later, this type of work would need to make some changes in order to stay on the market as the medium of paper peepshow found itself in a field of visual entertainments that looked quite different.

New Developments of the Paper Peepshow

The design of the two works representing royal occasions published in 1851, *Queen's Visit to the Civic Entertainment* and *Royal Visit to the City*, looks quite different from that of paper peepshows of the same subject matter produced in the 1830s. This results not only from changes in the way news was understood and reported in the early 1850s, but also the development of the paper peepshow medium. An examination of the situation in which this object found itself in this period is thus necessary, as it enables a better understanding of the position of these two works in the evolution of this medium.

As already discussed in Chapter Four, the gradual loss of novelty of paper peepshows had probably posed a problem for publishers, as it would mean that this medium could no longer fulfil customers' demand for the new, driven by the force of consumer culture. However, this was only one part of the problem, since new visual and optical entertainments, especially starting from the beginning of the 1850s, could also become a threat for the position of this medium on the market. My analysis here goes back to the concept of remediation proposed by Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, as well as its critique by Michelle Henning. As previously discussed, Henning argues that the process of becoming an old medium is a matter of deliberate construction, not a result of time. As examined in Chapter Three, with their works, publishers of paper peepshows in the 1830s made conventional prints an old medium in comparison in certain respects. Yet in the period around 1850, it was the paper peepshow that faced the danger of being put in this position, because of the development of novel optical media. While changes in the scene of visual

entertainments in this period have various implications, the examination here focuses on the emergence of the stereoscope. It was arguably one of the media that had the most significant impact on the paper peepshow because of the similarities in the consumption experience of the two, as detailed below. First described by Charles Wheatstone in a paper given to the Royal Society in 1838, the stereoscope functions thus: when viewers look through the pair of monocular of this device at two two-dimensional images, the view merges into one solid, three-dimensional image.[49] The stereoscope was initially intended to be a device that could aid the experimentation and study of the phenomenon of binocular vision, as it could demonstrate that although each eye sees a slightly different scene, people do not see two, but one image with depth.[50] Jonathan Crary argues that the sensation experienced through the stereoscope showcases the subjectivity of vision, a modern mode of looking that departs from the classic mode of Cartesian optics, and reveals that what people see depends not on the external world but the human body.[51] However, many scholars have subsequently pointed out that in the mid-nineteenth century, not everyone regarded the stereoscope as a confirmation of the modern vision. In fact, the antithetical view, which argued that this device demonstrated the superiority of vision in providing a faithful reflection of the external world, as well as the haptic dimension of binocular vision, was influential.[52] Importantly, this view that held fast to Cartesian optics and perfect vision was also the dominant discourse used to market the commercial stereoscope.[53] This phenomenon gained particular significance after daguerreotype stereographs, which appeared at the Great Exhibition in 1851, gradually replaced Wheatstone's original cardboard stereographs and established themselves as the standard 'software' used in the stereoscope (they were later taken over by photographic stereoscopies).[54] The combination of the indexical realism implied in the daguerreotype and the haptic vision experienced in the stereoscope meant that in consumers' understanding, the stereoscope became a medium that could

[49] Schiavo, 'From Phantom Image to Perfect Vision,' 114-115.
[50] Ibid., 114-115.
[51] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 116-136.
[52] See for example John Plunkett, '"Feeling Seeing",' 390.
[53] In 'From Phantom Image to Perfect Vision,' Schiavo explains the process of constructing this discourse in detail, see especially 117-121. In '"Feeling Seeing",' 394, Plunkett points out that commercialism per se was not the only reason for this discourse, and that the influence of the classic mode of vision upon scientific debates was also pervasive.
[54] For the inexpensive version of the stereoscope using daguerreotype, its success at the Great Exhibition of 1851, and how the commercial stereoscopes became a staple pastime in the middle-class parlours in the mid-1850s, see Robert J. Silverman, 'The Stereoscope and Photographic Depiction in the 19th Century,' *Technology and Culture* 34, no. 4, Special Issue: Biomedical and Behavioral Technology (October 1993): 730, 735.

produce realistic depictions with lifelike three-dimensionality and thus created the sensation 'of being *at* the scene.'[55]

Although the paper peepshow differs from the stereoscope in many aspects, seeing images with the impression of depth through the peep-hole was also an element of its consumption experience stressed by its producers and publishers in marketing it, just like in the case of the stereoscope. While the relevant sources concerning the paper peepshow is scarce, this argument can be evidenced by the way many publishers described their works. As previously discussed, the word 'perspective' appears very often in titles of works of different topics, including the Thames Tunnel, the coronation of Victoria, and the Great Exhibition.[56] Moreover, the view of three-dimensionality seen in the paper peepshow and the stereoscope also has certain aspects in common. While Crary fails to consider the discourse surrounding the commercial stereoscope, he is right in pointing out that 'the fundamental organization of the stereoscopic image is *planar*' in that the individual elements we see through the device are 'flat, cutout forms' arranged in different distance from us.[57] He draws attention to that fact that this way of 'synthesiz[ing] flats and real extensive space into an illusory scene' is the superficial similarity shared between the stereoscope and the traditional theatre stage design.[58] This system is also used to create depth in the paper peepshow. As previously mentioned, Henning contends that two media need to be first established as equivalent in use before one is presented as the superior form of the other. Since the paper peepshow and the stereoscope share the main function of creating depth and perspective, as well as some formal similarities in the way three-dimensionality is organized, it can be argued that in the scene of English visual and optical entertainments of the early 1850s, a field of equivalence was established between them. It is obvious that the stereoscope, which offered an unprecedented level of realism with lifelike solidity, was the medium that had added values over the paper peepshow. Understood in the framework of remediation, the former medium could also claim that it delivered a much higher level of immediacy than the latter. Even with just cardboard stereographs, the stereoscope would have been able to create a much more sophisticated scene of three-dimensionality than the unstable and often

[55] Plunkett, "'Feeling Seeing",' 394; 389-390, emphasis original. See also Schiavo, 'From Phantom Image to Perfect Vision,' 121.
[56] See Appendix III for details.
[57] Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 125, emphasis original.
[58] Ibid., 125.

fragmented view seen in the paper peepshow available in the paper peepshow.[59] Of course, there is no evidence to suggest that producers of the stereoscope ever made any specific reference to the paper peepshow in advertising their devices, or vice versa. Nonetheless, as both media appeared in the same market of optical recreations, it is imaginable that to consumers, the comparison between the two would be noticeable, which would have contributed to the making of the paper peepshow as a medium that was increasingly outmoded, if not yet completely obsolescent.

My analysis of the challenges faced by the paper peepshow in the face of devices like the stereoscope also benefits from Raymond Williams's model of the dynamic process of cultural change. Williams argues that apart from the dominant cultural elements, by which he means those that are current to society and have the most prevalent influence, there are also the residual and the emergent.[60] According to his definition, both the residual and the archaic refer to something that was formed in the past and appear outmoded in the present day, but there is a crucial difference between them. Whereas the former is still 'active in the cultural process' and often not as 'an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present,' the later belongs completely to the bygone times.[61] The significance of the residual becomes particularly clear when it is set against the dominant. Williams argues that while some aspects of the residual have 'been wholly or largely incorporated into the dominant culture,' there are some that form an 'alternative or even oppositional relation' to the latter as they concern themselves with 'experiences, meanings, and values which cannot be expressed or substantially verified in terms of the dominant culture.'[62] The emergent stands in a similar position in relation to the dominant, but it refers to new elements that are being created at present, instead of from the past. Williams notes that the emergent in the strict sense describes those that are 'substantially alternative or oppositional' to the dominant and should be distinguished from the novel, which is only a new phase of the dominant culture.[63]

Examined within the framework of Williams, the stereoscope can be considered as a novel phase of the dominant. While debates about binocular vision

[59] In the early 1850s, there were still many stereoscopes with diagrams, instead of daguerreotype, advertised. See for example, 'Holmes's Stereoscope,' *Illustrated London News* 20, no. 544, 7 February 1852, 136, The *Illustrated London News* Historical Archive, 1842-2003, Gale Primary Sources.
[60] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 121-127. Although Williams does not actually define the 'dominant' here, what he considers as the 'dominant' becomes clear through his discussion of the residual and the emergent.
[61] Ibid., 122.
[62] Ibid., 122.
[63] Ibid., 123.

that it set off had aspects that disrupted the influential Cartesian optics, the stereoscope was marketed to and largely understood by the general public as a medium that confirmed the classic mode of vision. Its most-advertised feature, the creation of lifelike three-dimensional illusion out of two-dimensional images, did not challenge the dominant. Instead, it upheld the prevalent conviction in the superiority of vision and the wish for immediacy by claiming that it could erase traces of mediation and bring viewers closer to the represented objects. On the contrary, the paper peepshow was losing its novelty and made by forces of the market to appear increasingly like a thing of the past. Nonetheless, this medium would have the potential of becoming the residual instead of the archaic as its unique structure and consumption experience could form an alternative or even oppositional relation to the dominant cultural element represented by the stereoscope.

For Williams, the significance of the residual and the emergent lies mainly in the socio-political realm.[64] Yet it would be unlikely that for producers, their products becoming the residual had any similar importance. Rather, for these merchants, the element of monetary consideration—namely, to help maintain the commercial value of the paper peepshow by presenting it as something different—would be a more probable motivation. However, the aspects of the residual cultural element in the paper peepshow need to be brought to the fore through a suitable design, which was achieved by few publishers. For example, some publishers simply took advantage of the impression of depth formed in the peep-view to represent suitable topics, even though the three-dimensionality achieved by the cut-out panels might appear increasingly less sophisticated, especially from around 1851, when the commercial stereoscope became widely known and started to be popularized. Nonetheless, probably due to the popularity of the subject matters, it appears that their paper peepshows were received well, which resulted in sustaining the position of this medium on the market for a bit longer. Works depicting the Thames Tunnel after the completion of its construction are some of the most obvious examples, although it is likely that their production did not result from any strategies aiming to reposition this medium. As previously discussed, the main producers Bondy Azulay and T. C. Brandon maintained a business that was practically exclusively about the Tunnel. Included in their stock, the paper peepshow was not considered as a medium in its own right, but another souvenir tat and no longer a fancy article.

[64] See Henning, 'New Lamps for Old Oil,' 53-62, for a discussion of the residual from this perspective.

The production of works portraying the Great Exhibition of 1851, most of which follow the conventional paper peepshow structure, was likely to be motivated by a similar rationale and was successful too, judging from the number of copies survived.[65] The exception to this group of works are the two paper peepshows produced under the name of Bailey Rawlins. They show features that innovate on the conventional paper peepshow structure, which will be discussed in the section below. Three people, responsible for the production of all but one of the remaining Crystal Palace paper peepshows, can be identified: Charles Augustus Lane, Charles Moody, and William Spooner.[66] According to the 1851 census, Lane was a manufacturer of fancy goods.[67] Moody was a lithographer, stationer and artists' colourman, whose production also included some maps and London scenes, while Spooner was a print- and bookseller familiar with paper-based optical entertainments, especially protean views, a kind of transparency.[68] Included in the stock of the likes of Lane, Moody, or Spooner, the paper peepshow might still be positioned as a distinct print medium as well as a fancy article, albeit a no longer novel one.[69] Nonetheless, it appears that the producers of these works of the Great Exhibition were mainly concerned with exploiting the three-dimensional structure of the paper peepshow as an appropriate form to represent the Crystal Palace, instead of exploring other potentials of this medium. This intention is clearly indicated by some of the works' titles that have phrases like 'telescopic view' or 'perspective view.'[70] As works depicting the Tunnel and the Great Exhibition were widely circulated, the association of the paper peepshow with these two sites also started to take root, which can be demonstrated by the continuing publication of works representing the Tunnel and the production of a commercial and homemade work of other world exhibitions in the second half of the nineteenth century.[71] This development has probably contributed to the formation of the perception that the paper peepshow was merely a souvenir of these landmarks,

[65] A work has twenty copies survived and another one fourteen. See Appendix III for details. The only major difference between these works and those made in the first half of the nineteenth century is that some of the former have cloth bellows, which might be used to stabilize the expanded paper peepshow.
[66] See Appendix III for their productions and all the other paper peepshows of the Great Exhibition of 1851.
[67] Peter Barber, *London: A History in Maps* (London: The London Topographical Society in association with the British Library, 2012), 207.
[68] Worms and Baynton-Williams, *British Map Engravers*, 459; 625.
[69] The price of two works by Lane, five shillings sixpence and seven shillings sixpence respectively, can also indicate that these paper peepshows were targeted at a more prestigious consumer group than the post-1843 English Thames Tunnel paper peepshows. See Appendix III for details.
[70] See Appendix III for details.
[71] See Appendix III for details of the two works of world exhibitions.

which continues to influence part of the twenty-first-century scholarship of this object, as the discussion in the Introduction makes clear.

A different strategy was adopted by many other publishers. Although Henning argues that media on their way to becoming obsolete do not 'just get refashioned by new technical processes or as new media content,' quite a few such examples can be observed from the practice of these producers.[72] They attempted to reposition the paper peepshow on the market and make it relevant again by combining their products with other media that were at the height of their popularity in the 1840s and 1850s. As a result, however, these works underwent fundamental changes to their structure so that, strictly speaking, they should not be considered as paper peepshows anymore.[73] The untitled work, [*Valentine Card*], is an early example (Fig. 5.12).[74] The structure of the paper peepshow has become part of a lace paper valentine (Fig. 5.13). Measuring only seventy millimetres in width and fifty millimetres in length, the paper peepshow has only two panels and can only be expanded into a limited length, which means the impression of depth and immersion is not so strong when we look through the peep-hole. This structure is pasted onto the centre of the valentine, surrounded by floral pattern decoration, inscription, and lace paper. This design results in a shift in the experience of using the paper peepshow as the haptic element is greatly emphasized. When users lifted the front-face, they would become more acutely aware of the role of their hands as they needed to be extra careful when handling the panels in miniature size, whose fragile texture would be further enhanced by the delicate lace paper on the side. It is likely that the publisher grafted the no longer attractive/novel paper peepshow onto the valentine, which was rising in popularity, in order to explore new ways of repositioning the former on the market. The emergence of the valentine card benefited from the developed printing technology and cheap paper that became available in the nineteenth century.[75] It was well-liked by consumers, and with the advent of the penny post service in 1840, the valentine card was circulated more widely, and lace paper that appears on [*Valentine Card*] became one of the favourite elements in the design of such cards.[76] The combination of the paper peepshow and

[72] Henning, 'New Lamps for Old Oil,' 53.
[73] This statement is made based on the definition of the paper peepshow used in this thesis. In other context, for example Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, the three works discussed below are listed in the category of paper peepshows.
[74] [*Valentine Card*], Anonymous, watercolour, c1840, Gestetner 236, the V&A.
[75] Sarah Beattie, 'Victorian Valentines,' accessed 3 March 2020, https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/caring-for-our-collections/victorian-valentines?doing_wp_cron=1583591501.1893999576568603515625.
[76] 'Cruel Cards & Loving Lobsters: Quirky Victorian Valentines,' Museum of London, accessed 3 March 2020. https://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/discover/cruel-cards-loving-lobsters-quirky

the valentine card in this work can be considered as an early example of pop-up in greeting cards, which continued to be produced in the second half of the nineteenth century.[77] The same design idea also occurred to children's literature publishers, who incorporated the paper peepshow in movable books. The book produced by Dean & Son in 1861 is such an example. The cut-out panels with the bellow structure, without the front-face with the peep-hole, are pasted on each page above the text that introduces readers to architectural landmarks in London (Fig. 5.14).[78] This format continued to grow and became a staple design in children's literature, which has led to some scholars' categorization of the paper peepshow as a type of children's book, as previously discussed.

Another example of how the paper peepshow was adapted to the market is the work *Mr. Albert Smith's Ascent of Mont Blanc every evening at the Egyptian Hall Piccadilly* (hereafter *Mr. Albert Smith's Ascent of Mont Blanc*), whose format was used to represent other performances of Albert Smith later.[79] On 15 March 1852, the showman and comic writer Albert Smith put on his performance 'The Ascent of Mont Blanc' at the Egyptian Hall for the first time, which enjoyed tremendous success for six years, with the last show taking place on 26 Jun 1858.[80] The performance was a combination of the charismatic lecture by Smith about his adventure on Mont Blanc and a moving panorama painted by William Roxby Beverley.[81] The massive success of the show naturally inspired the production of a variety of spin-offs and souvenirs, including *Mr. Albert Smith's Ascent of Mont Blanc*. While the structure of this work looks similar to that of a basic paper peepshow, it has a major difference in that a substantial amount of movable slides (fourteen in total) can be inserted in front of the back-scene to offer users a whole range of views of Smith's lecture. At the same time, the number of cut-out panels is reduced to two, and the panels, which depict the audience, Albert Smith, and the proscenium arch, function more as a frame to the changeable scenes, instead of being an integral part of it (Fig. 5.15). Although as discussed in Chapter Two, the use of the removable back-slide to introduce multiple

-victorian-valentines.

[77] See Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 211, for some examples.

[78] *Dean's New Magic Picture Book Showing Wonderful & Lifelike Effects of Real Distance & Space: Book I*, published by Dean & Son, hand-coloured wood engraving, 1861, Gestetner 272, the V&A.

[79] *Mr. Albert Smith's Ascent of Mont Blanc Every Evening at the Egyptian Hall Piccadilly*, Anonymous, hand-coloured lithograph, c1853, Gestetner 263, the V&A. For detailed information on the production of this work, its other editions, as well as other performances by Smith represented in this format, see Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 52-55; 207; 236-239.

[80] Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 52-54; 206. For more information on Albert Smith and his moving panorama shows, see Huhtamo, *Illusions in Motion*, 215-244.

[81] Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 52.

peep-views into one paper peepshow was a practice already adopted by publishers in the 1820s, most of the time there is only one such slide.[82] By focusing on the pleasure of viewing a multitude of different scenes, *Mr. Albert Smith's Ascent of Mont Blanc* effectively imitates the features of the moving panorama—the content of Smith's lecture— and alters some core features of the experience of using a paper peepshow. It is also worth noting that some of these publishers also gradually started to target their product exclusively at young customers. Dean & Son was a leading publisher in children's literature, and the producer of *Mr. Albert Smith's Ascent of Mont Blanc* also had young users in mind, as one of its other versions comes with a booklet that expresses the author's thanks to Smith 'in the name of that numerous body—the children of Great Britain,' as Smith permitted his 'beautiful views to be copied, so as to be familiarised in all nurseries in the Kingdom.'[83]

The strategies practised by the abovementioned publishers may have prevented the paper peepshow medium from becoming the archaic too soon. However, they resulted in altering its nature as a medium in various ways, either through associating it with certain subject matters only, making changes to the experience of using it and merging it with other media, or targeting it only at children. There are, however, works that incorporate innovative structure and design that highlight the potential of the paper peepshow in becoming a residual cultural element, and *Queen's Visit to the Civic Entertainment* and *Royal Visit to the City* are two such examples. The same features can also be found in two works of the Great Exhibition of 1851, and all four paper peepshows bear the name of Bailey Rawlins as the proprietor.[84] As the publishers for these four works also produced paper peepshows of conventional structure around the same period, Rawlins probably played a more important role in developing the novel features that explore the potential of the paper peepshow in becoming the residual. The discussion below analyses not only how these works of Victoria's visit to the City represent a different way of depicting royal events in the

[82] There is also a work produced in Germany that has six removable back-slides. See *Illustrirter London Führer oder eine Woche in London / A week in London. The Illustrated Guide / Guide illustré de Londres ou une semaine à London [sic] / El conductor o una semana en Londres*, Anonymous, hand-coloured etching, 15.5 x 21.5 x 28 cm (expanded), c1851, Gestetner 175, the V&A.

[83] Cited in Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 207.

[84] They are: *Bailey Rawlins's Expanding View of the Great Exhibition*, published for the proprietor by Charles Moody, chromolithograph, 1851, E. 97101936; *Bailey Rawlins's Expanding View of the Great Exhibition 1851, Transept*, published for the proprietor by Charles Moody, chromolithograph, 1851, Gestetner 253. Both at the V&A. As these works are similar to the paper peepshows depicting Victoria's visit in the City in their design and structure, they can also be considered as examples that incorporate the strategy that aimed to stress the paper peepshow as a residual cultural element. However, the limited scope of this chapter means that how these features might have impacted the representation of the Crystal Palace needs to be explored in detail in future research.

paper peepshow in the early 1850s, but also how such design is connected to the strategy used by some producers to actively navigate the paper peepshow among new media during the mid-nineteenth century while keeping its original form.[85]

Becoming the Residual: Paper Peepshows of Royal Events in 1851

The scenes depicted in *Queen's Visit to the Civic Entertainment* and *Royal Visit to the City* represent a ball and a banquet respectively, and both occasions were part of the programme of Victoria and Albert's visit to the Guildhall in celebration of the success of the Great Exhibition in July 1851. According to the diary of the Queen, the event was extremely well received.[86] This can also be proved by the amount of media attention paid to it. For instance, the *Illustrated London News* (hereafter the *ILN*) devoted about half of its double issue on 12 July 1851 to it.[87] The *ILN* gave extensive details about different parts of the event, as well as providing five full-page illustrations (one of them being slightly smaller in size), in addition to several vignettes. It is easy to see why the producers of these two works chose to represent this event. In the early 1850s, the public still had much interest in contemporary news and in particular, their enthusiasm for royal public engagements, like the one depicted in the two works here, was hard to ignore. Unlike events such as the coronation, overladen with aristocratic connotation, such activities were considered as more informal and an important form of manifesting the inclusion of the Queen's subjects in the political nation and the recognition of the importance of their support for her.[88] Playing a crucial role in the construction of Victoria as a new type of monarch, one who was popular and constitutional, these activities took place constantly and received much interest from the public.[89] Portraying such an event like the Queen's visit to the City would mean that the paper peepshow would have been able to grasp some attention just by its subject matter.

It is the design of these two works that is noteworthy. Unlike paper peepshows from the 1830s, their focus is not on the atmosphere of the event. Almost the entire content of these two works is derived from the illustrations in the double issue of the *ILN* on 12 July 1851. The front-face of *Queen's Visit to the Civic Entertainment* is a

[85] See Appendix III for works produced by these publishers.
[86] Walter L. Arnstein, 'Queen Victoria Opens Parliament: The Disinvention of Tradition,' *Historical Research* 63, no. 151 (June 1990): 181.
[87] *Illustrated London News* 19, no. 501, 12 July 1851, 57-72, The *Illustrated London News* Historical Archive, 1842-2003, Gale Primary Sources.
[88] Plunkett, *Queen Victoria*, 17.
[89] Ibid., 17.

reversed copy of the image titled 'The Queen's Visit to the City of London—The Royal Throne in the Guildhall' from the opening page of the second part of the double issue (Fig. 5.16 and Fig. 5.17). The peep-view is an appropriation of the illustration 'Procession of Her Majesty to the State Ball in the Guildhall' (Fig. 5.18 and Fig. 5.19). The first cut-out panel is a reversed copy of a part of this print, and the rest of the panels are designed after its style. In *Royal Visit to the City*, almost all the elements from another illustration from the *ILN*, 'The Banquet in the Crypt,' are copied (in reverse) and distributed among the four cut-out panels (Fig. 5.20 and Fig. 5.21). The resulting peep-view thus looks like a mirror image of the newspaper print.

The reuse of images from the *ILN* in other publications as such was not rare during this period. While there is little information about this newspaper selling electrotype or stereotype plates of illustrations to other news titles, like some of its Continental counterparts did, the *ILN* often complained that its images were pirated by imitators in the United States as well as Europe.[90] It is thus likely that the newspaper did not authorize the copying of the illustrations in the two paper peepshows discussed here either.[91] Nevertheless, this would probably not be a problem in terms of producing the panels. Since these two works are printed using chromolithography, it would be quite easy for the illustrations to be copied or appropriated without the physical printing plate. The artist could draw the cut-out panel design by tracing the original illustration, which would be more time-efficient given the amount of copy work needed to be produced. This working method can explain why the panels show the mirror image.

Additionally, different factors would suggest that there should be no copyright issue involved. In the nineteenth century, newspaper publishers were much more concerned about piracy from other press publications than from works such as the

[90] Thomas Smits, *The European Illustrated Press and the Emergence of a Transnational Visual Culture of the News, 1842-1870* (Abingdon; New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2020), 104. Smits' book provides a comprehensive examination of the circulation of press illustrations between newspapers in Britain and the rest of Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the same volume, 80-81, Smits explains that before the early 1850s, stereotyping and electrotyping were the techniques used to duplicate newspaper wood engravings, but both of them required access to the physical plate, provided by the original publisher. Starting from the early 1850s, the technique of photoxylography (also known as xylophotography) became available, which enabled wood engraving duplication without the physical printing plate.

[91] Scholarship does not have a unified definition of the *ILN*, with some referring to it as a newspaper and some others a magazine. This publication is referred to here as a newspaper. This categorization is not just based on the broad definition of 'newspaper' used in this chapter, but also takes into consideration of how the *ILN* described itself: an illustrated newspaper. See Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, 'Introduction: The Lure of Illustration,' in *The Lure of Illustration in the Nineteenth Century: Picture and Press*, eds. Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (Basingstoke; New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 4, for details.

paper peepshow. In fact, the idea of using copyright law to protect newspapers was a novel one that emerged only around the 1830s.[92] The campaign to end the Stamp Duty had led to many major stamped newspapers worrying that this would give rise to an influx of pirate publications thriving on copying, and they thus initiated the idea of having a special copyright law to prevent this from happening.[93] Yet since after the new law that reduced the Stamp Duty was passed without any provision for copyright, the situation that publishers feared for did not happen, the discussion of news piracy died down.[94] These newspapers did not complain either when the new copyright law in 1842 gave protection for 'contributions to magazines, reviews, and "periodical works,"' but did not mention newspapers.[95] Although when the Stamp Duty was repealed in 1855, there were again copyright concerns, it was only at the end of the nineteenth century that the idea of copyright in newspapers was brought up once more.[96] Only in 1898, a select committee of the House of Lords was considering a bill that would protect the copyright of original illustrations in newspapers.[97] Moreover, although the *ILN* threatened to prosecute other publications that used its prints in 1854, it appears that no lawsuit about illustration copyright actually happened.[98] Lastly, unusually for paper peepshows, whose design was often pirated, both works discussed here bear the abbreviated version of the phrase 'entered at Stationers' Hall.' This means that they were registered at the Stationers' Company and would thus receive copyright protection successfully, another indication that the copying of illustrations did not incur any legal issues.[99] That these works had appropriated images from the *ILN* might be a factor that motivated their publishers to seek copyright protection to defend themselves should the newspaper complained. However, this theory would be contradicted by the fact that two other paper peepshows, *Bailey Rawlins's Expanding View of the Great Exhibition* and *Bailey Rawlins's Expanding View of the Great Exhibition 1851, Transept*, also owned by Rawlins and published by Charles Moody

[92] Will Slauter, 'Copyright and the Political Economy of News in Britain 1836-1911,' *Victoria Periodicals Review* 51, no. 4 (Winter 2018): 642.
[93] Ibid., 641.
[94] Ibid., 62-643.
[95] Ibid., 643.
[96] Ibid., 648-650
[97] Ibid., 650. The above discussion about the *ILN* complaining about its illustrations being copied in the United States of America and Europe indicates that these images were considered to be the property of the newspapers, not the engraver or the artist.
[98] Smits, *The European Illustrated Press*, 104; Thomas Smits, email to author, 29 May 2020.
[99] 'History and Heritage,' The Stationers' Company, accessed 5 June 2020, https://www.stationers.org/company/history-and-heritage.

who produced *Royal Visit to the City*, which also used the *ILN* illustrations, were not registered at the Stationers' Company.[100]

Although producers of these two works of the Crystal Palace, as well as the Brandon and Azulay Tunnel paper peepshows mentioned in Chapter Four and one work produced in Germany, copied images from the *ILN*, they only took the newspaper image for their front-face design and did not incorporate any press illustrations in the peep-views.[101] The two works about Victoria and Albert's visit to Guildhall, on the contrary, are exceptional in having the cut-out panels based on prints from the *ILN*, thus essentially constituting a three-dimensional re-presentation of the newspaper engravings.

The passages below argue that this way of depicting a contemporary royal event is the manifestation of the strategy used to highlight the potential of the paper peepshow in becoming the residual. The significance of this design can only be properly analysed based on the understanding of the perception of *ILN*, and graphic journalism in general, in English society in the early 1850s. Visual reportage already appeared in the 1830s, but back then it was only in its infant stage due to technological limitations.[102] This means that illustrations were not only rare in newspapers and only reserved for major events, but they were also understood to be not faithful depictions, having their appeal with readers not because of their fidelity to facts but their novelty.[103] The development of the press in the next decade brought dramatic changes to graphic reportage. Technological advancement, especially that of wood engraving,

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[100] *Bailey Rawlins's Expanding View of the Great Exhibition*, Charles Moody, 1851, has a front-face that is a copy of the illustration from *Illustrated London News*, 10 May 1851, 398; *Bailey Rawlins's Expanding View of the Great Exhibition 1851, Transept*, Charles Moody, 1851, has a front-face that is a copy of the illustration from *Illustrated London News*, 25 October 1851, 528. Notably, C. A. Lane, the publisher of *Queen's Visit to the Civic Entertainment*, consistently registered all his works identified so far. See Appendix III for details.

[101] The German work, *Das Lager bei Chobham./ Le Manoeuvre près de Chobham./ Her Majesty Royal Visitors and Staff at the Camp at Chobham*, Anonymous, hand-coloured lithograph, 14.3 x 16.4 x 65 cm (expanded), 1853, Gestetner 180, the V&A, has a front-face that was closely copied from the illustration from *Illustrated London News*, 2 July 1853, 544-545. It is important to note that except for the two works about Queen Victoria's visit to the City, all the other front-face images are not reverse copies of the original print, which suggests that the illustrations were not traced directly onto the print plate.

[102] Celina Fox's *Graphic Journalism in England during the 1830s and 1840s* (New York, N.Y.; London: Garland, 1988) remains the classic account of the development of fundamental changes in the field of illustrated press in the 1830s and 1840s. See also Brian Maidment, 'Illustration,' in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, eds. Andrew King, Alexis Easley, and John Morton (Abingdon; New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2016), 102-123; Lorraine Janzen Kooistra, 'Illustration,' in *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Joanna Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 105-108.

[103] Kooistra, 'Illustration,' 106-107; Plunkett, *Queen Victoria*, 95, 206.

made possible the proliferation of illustrated media.[104] The *ILN*, which started its weekly publication in 1842 as the first newspaper that made pictorial news its main feature and was hugely successful among consumers, was the leading provider of graphic journalism.[105] Much more important than the number of illustrations was the connotations they carried. Starting from the 1840s, the illustrated press developed a discourse that associated visual reportage of news with accuracy, authenticity, and objectivity.[106] The *ILN* was active in constructing this discourse from the very start, and the way it branded itself is characteristic of the practice of other illustrated news publications contemporary to it. In its opening address, it is enthusiastically claimed that:

> The public will have henceforth under their glance, and within their grasp, the very form and presence of events as they transpire, in all their substantial reality, and with evidence visible as well as circumstantial [.] . . . [A]nd if the pen be ever led into fallacious argument, the pencil must at least be oracular with the spirit of truth.[107]

Such claims to objectivity and authenticity did not remain solely in editors' ambitious words. Many factors led to the acceptance of this discourse of the truth value of graphic news report in society. The collaboration between text and image in the *ILN*, as well as techniques used in the design of the illustrations, contributed to enhancing the impression that news images presented an objective portrayal.[108] Moreover, the medium of wood engraving, on which illustrations in the *ILN* and other

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[104] Maidment, 'Illustration,' 102. See also Brake and Demoor, 'Introduction,' 1-6 and Kooistra, 'Illustration,' 105-111.

[105] See Smits, *The European Illustrated Press*, 4, for some information on the exceptionally high circulation number of the *ILN* in the 1840s and 1850s.

[106] In Ulrich Keller, *The Ultimate Spectacle: A Visual History of the Crimean War* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), 73, Ulrich Keller argues that the quality of authenticity in visual reportage was first manifested by newspaper illustrations in the mid-nineteenth century. See also Thomas Smits, *The European Illustrated Press*, 6; 79. However, the discourse of authenticity was not accepted by everyone. See 77-78 in the same volume by Smits for some examples of the critiques of the claim to accuracy and objectivity. However, these did not shake readers' belief in the truthfulness of newspaper illustrations. In Celina Fox, 'The Development of Social Reportage in English Periodical Illustration During the 1840s and Early 1850s,' *Past & Present*, no. 74 (1977): 90, Fox considers that on the whole, in the 1840s, the general public already accepted the illustrations at face value.

[107] 'Our Address,' *Illustrated London News* 1, no. 1, 14 May 1842, 1, The *Illustrated London News* Historical Archive, 1842-2003, Gale Primary Sources.

[108] Peter W. Sinnema, *Dynamics of the Printed Page: Representing the Nation in the Illustrated London News* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 30; Andrea Korda, *Printing and Painting the News in Victorian London: The Graphic and Social Realism, 1869-1891* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 31-35. Korda discusses in detail how the different techniques used, including linear perspective, the amount of details and elevated position, helped enhance the objective appearance of the illustrations.

newspapers were based in the 1840s and early 1850s, was considered by Victorian publishers and readers as a medium that was unproblematically naturalistic and capable of representing the world faithfully.[109] Also important was the narrative of the production process of images, which was fictional but repeatedly told by different illustrated newspapers as the truth. This discourse foregrounded the role of the special artist—a kind of visual reporter who supplied sketches of the illustrations—in the making of the images, and the minimum amount of human interference involved in transforming sketches into prints.[110] It thus further reinforced the objectivity of news illustrations, which were presented as the visualization of eyewitness accounts of special artists.[111]

Also related to the discussion here is the fact that visual reportage in the illustrated press of royal events, especially public engagements, had special significance in the early 1850s. John Plunkett argues that whereas in the 1830s, the royal image was made available either through iconic portraits as individual prints or very occasional graphic depiction of major events, the illustrated press enabled a visual representation of the monarch and the royal household on a regular basis.[112] The shift from prints to newspaper and periodical illustrations means that the relationship between the monarch and their visual image 'moved from the iconic to the dynamic, from the portrait to the image.'[113] Royal public engagements, which took place regularly, were thus important for this shift to happen as they provided much material for pictorial reports. In return, through its constant representation of these events, the illustrated press also established itself as a means that provided readers with a distinct and important experience of the novel monarchy.[114] Due to the discourse of authenticity surrounding news illustrations, such experience was also understood to be substantiated by objectivity and realism.[115]

If the illustrated press had established itself as the standard source of reliable and objective pictorial reportage and an important means of experiencing monarchy, the decision to design the works *Queen's Visit to the Civic Entertainment* and *Royal*

[109] For a detailed discussion on the perception of wood engraving as a naturalistic medium, see Maidment, 'Illustration,' 107-108.
[110] See Smits, *The European Illustrated Press*, 72-79, for a detailed discussion of the construction of this discourse.
[111] Ibid., 79.
[112] Plunkett, *Queen Victoria*, 98.
[113] Ibid., 98.
[114] Ibid., 98; 100.
[115] In the context of visual reportage of royal events, the validity of the narrative of authenticity was closely linked with the access special artists had to royal occasions. See ibid., 200-211, for a discussion about the series of processes that enabled the incorporation of journalists into such events.

Visit to the City by largely copying or appropriating the *ILN* engravings could appear puzzling at first sight. Of course, taking images from such a well-known source could help add authenticity to the depiction of the royal events in the paper peepshows. Economic consideration could also be a motivation since copying an existing image could be cheaper than designing a new one with the same level of sophistication. However, these explanations ignore the fact that as the peep-views have almost the same imagery as the *ILN* illustrations, these two paper peepshows would offer the middle-class consumers, who were also the target readers of the newspaper and might have already seen the images, hardly any different or additional visual information.[116] It is true that compared to two-dimensional images, the paper peepshow could still to some degree demonstrate its strength in offering a three-dimensional view. It might, however, be of limited appeal to users in the early 1850s, when the new experience of seeing images with lifelike solidity in the stereoscope was becoming well-known. It would be unlikely that producers of these two paper peepshows would expect to sell their works for the price of five to eight shillings, if indeed a basic three-dimensional representation of practically the same images in the *ILN*—priced at one shilling for the double issue—was all that they intended to offer consumers.[117]

An analysis of the design and structure of these works can lead to the conclusion that the use of images from the *ILN* could have other intentions than saving the cost or borrowing the reputation of the newspaper. The features of the works can be understood as a means of emphasizing that the two paper peepshows represented a residual cultural element compared to the novel, dominant optical media such as the stereoscope, thereby offering consumers a different kind of pleasure of interacting with a medium. As discussed above, the discourse surrounding the commercial stereoscope essentially stressed a high level of immediacy that this device could provide and its claim to the erasure of mediation. It would be natural for producers to present the paper peepshow as an object that stressed hypermediacy so that this object could be posed in an alternative or even oppositional relation to the stereoscope.[118] Hypermediacy is defined by Bolter and Grusin as the emphasis on the presence of a medium.[119] It can be observed when a form of representation seeks to draw attention

[116] See Fox, 'The Development of Social Reportage,' 111, for a discussion of the readership of the *ILN*.
[117] The estimation of the price is based on the cost of two C. A. Lane paper peepshows of the Great Exhibition produced in 1851, as these two works share with *Queen's Visit to the Civic Entertainment*, the publisher. See note 69 in this chapter for details of the price.
[118] In Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation*, 37-38, the authors argue that hypermediacy took a primary position in some nineteenth-century optical toys, but do not mention the paper peepshow.
[119] Ibid., 5-6.

to and put more worth on the existence of media and mediation, instead of the seemingly realistic depiction produced according to the logic of immediacy.[120] Users of this medium also acknowledge this emphasis and are interested in learning through or about mediation.[121]

As will be discussed below, hypermediacy is embodied in these two paper peepshows as their design underscores the mediated nature of the impression of three-dimensionality and depth, thereby forming a contrast to the discourse of the stereoscope. In realizing this emphasis on the presence of the medium, incorporating pictures with obvious marks of representation would be less effective compared to using images that were perceived to be objective representations, like the *ILN* prints, since these illustrations could result in a more obvious contrast between elements of immediacy and hypermediacy. This forms an interesting contrast to paper peepshows depicting watering resorts discussed in Chapter Three, whose appropriation of topography prints was positioned in the context of demonstrating the higher level of immediacy achieved in the former medium. The decision to copy from the *ILN* was probably made based on its reputation and wide circulation, which reached a high point in 1851 due to its report of the Great Exhibition.[122] As customers might have already seen the images in the newspaper, it would be possible that they would pay more attention to the paper peepshows because of their familiarity with the engravings.

According to this interpretation, it can be argued that although they represent popular royal occasions, the works *Queen's Visit to the Civic Entertainment* and *Royal Visit to the City* were designed with an emphasis on the pleasure of mediation. Unlike works in the 1830s, they were less about conveying information about a national event or bringing users closer to it. Hypermediacy is emphasized in many aspects of these two works. As previously discussed, since the slipcase and the front-face constitute a physical barrier between users and the peep-view, they often function to raise consumers' expectation for the scenes inside. In the case of the two works discussed here, the design of their slipcase and front-face, which highlights traces of mediation, anticipates the fact that hypermediacy is the intended focus of cut-out panels. The slipcase of *Queen's Visit to the Civic Entertainment* depicts what appears to be a mirror with an ornate gilded frame (Fig. 5.22). The frame can also be intended to represent a painting. On either side, red drapery hangs from the top all the way down

[120] Ibid., 58-59.
[121] Ibid., 71.
[122] Smits, *The European Illustrated Press*, 44-45.

to the bottom and evokes the impression that the scene on the inside is about to be unveiled while heightening the sense of anticipation and theatricality. Both a mirror and a painting can be understood as examples of mediated realism, whether as a form of optical effect or artistic construction. Packaging the paper peepshow within an image about either of these two objects, the slipcase can be considered as an allusion to the acts of mediation that users will soon experience with the work inside.

A design of a similar function is used on the front-face. It features a reversed and coloured copy of the front page of the special issue of *ILN* reporting the Queen's visit to the City. A few changes, however, alter the sensation conveyed by the newspaper engraving. The illustration from the newspaper is designed to appear like an objective depiction that would enable viewers to see the event as if being present there themselves (Fig. 5.16). The people in the image are roughly divided into two groups on either side of the throne, each forming one part of the orthogonal line of the linear perspective, pointing towards the vanishing point of the print in the centre. The depth of the illustration is further enhanced through the meticulous depiction of the canopy on the upper part of the image. By showing the canopy projecting in the direction of the viewer, an impression emphasized by the careful portrayal of shadow, the artist used the upper part of the illustration as a device to extend the image into the space of the viewer. This effect is enhanced by the fact that the print has no clear frame but seems to fade into the surrounding environment (see for example the indication of the continuation of the crowd on the right-hand side).

In comparison, the way this *ILN* illustration is used on the front-face goes exactly against these strategies that try to make invisible the signs of mediation (Fig. 5.17). Here, the title is presented in very elaborate design and is interwoven with the main scene in the centre. The image is no longer frameless but enclosed by some elaborate borders: the royal coat of arms and banderole with the title at the top and bottom; gilded metal frames on the two sides; and attributes of the City of London spreading along the bottom of front-face. Interestingly, the canopy, which in the original image protrudes to the front and serves as a device that facilitates the connection between the world of the viewer and that of the image, is now incorporated into this border. The function of the canopy changes dramatically as a result. Rather than creating a sensation of the picture space being connected seamlessly to the one occupied by consumers of the paper peepshow, it is now used as a part of the frame that marks out distinctly the division between the image and users. Thus, although a print associated with immediacy is placed at the centre of the front-face, it is used as

an element that helps hint at the presence of mediation in the paper peepshow, and can function to raise users' expectation for more signs of hypermediacy when they look through the peep-hole. The front-face of *Royal Visit to the City* adopts a very different kind of design but conveys a similar message. The scene depicts the two legendary giants associated with the City, Gog and Magog, on either side of a door (Fig. 5.23). The image is executed with a style that conforms to realism aesthetic. However, because it gives prominence to two life-like looking biblical figures guarding a door that leads to Victoria's banquet, it injects a sense of unfamiliarity and unreality into the scene. It is through highlighting the fictional nature of visual representation that this front-face design acknowledges and foregrounds the acts of mediation.

The pleasure that this kind of hypermediacy can bring would become clear to nineteenth-century users when they looked through the peep-hole and at a structure that further reinforces the presence of the medium. As discussed above, the experience of immediacy, enabled by the lifelike solidity realized in the stereoscope, threatened to render the impression of depth achieved in the paper peepshow obsolete. Instead of trying to improve on the lack of immediacy in the peep-view, producers of the two works went in the opposite direction, placing emphasis on hypermediacy and drawing attention to the physical materiality of their products. This is mainly achieved by the insertion of a cut-out panel that consists only of an empty frame as the first cut-out panel (Fig. 5.24). Referring to this structural feature, Ralph Hyde claims that, since it becomes invisible to us when we look through the peep-hole, its main function would be to increase the distance between users and the rest of the panels so that the sense of depth can be enhanced.[123] While this could be a possibility, the design of some early paper peepshows demonstrates that deepening the image seen through the peep-hole could have been achieved by simply adjusting the distance between each cut-out panel, which would have been more cost-efficient (Fig. 5.25). Moreover, although a peep-view that does not include the frame can be achieved, my experience of using these two works indicates that the frame would still be visible through the peep-hole at some angles, and could even interfere with the viewing of the scenes on the rest of the panels.

It appears more probable that the empty frame could be designed to have three important functions related to the emphasis of hypermediacy. Firstly, as discussed in

[123] Hyde, *Paper Peepshows*, 202.

previous chapters, the fact that the panels in the paper peepshow do not automatically cohere into a seamless entity means that the 'active creation of belief'—the consumer's use of imagination—would be crucial in the formation of the desired peep-view. It would also be a key aspect of the joy of using paper peepshows. This demand on users' contribution to the consumption experience can be understood as an instance where the act of mediation is acknowledged, and it is further emphasized by the empty frame. The panel literally forms a barrier behind the peep-hole, so that nineteenth-century users could not simply dive into the paper peepshow world, but needed to first go past the frame. This extra step might result in disrupting the process of users' immersing themselves in the scenes depicted on the panels, creating an additional obstacle to the formation of a coherent pee-view and putting more weight on the importance of their active imagination. Secondly, this empty frame also functions to draw more attention to the medium itself—the physical built of the paper peepshow, especially the layering of panels, instead of just the scenes represented. This focus highlights in particular the way three-dimensionality is known through touch in the paper peepshow, and users might be reminded of the presence of the medium and its materiality that they held in their hands. Lastly, by framing the rest of the peep-view, the empty panel also evokes the sensation of theatricality. It appears like a proscenium arch, behind which Victoria's visit is played out like a theatre production. As argued in Chapter Two, the intermedial reference to theatre stage design—reflected through the arrangement of cut-out panels—is a feature inherent to the paper peepshow. The evocation of theatricality in the two works here is thus not so surprising. In addition, this reference to another medium can be understood as another way to acknowledge the process of mediation in the two works of Victoria's visit to the City.

By foregrounding the experience of using 'active creation of belief,' the physical structure and materiality of the layered panels and the tactile element in the consumption, as well as the intermediality embedded in the paper peepshow, the empty frame thus realizes hypermediacy in various aspects. This design could function in encouraging the nineteenth-century users to appreciate the simple yet effective mechanism of creating three-dimensionality incorporated in the paper peepshow and the physical presence of this medium. Their attention might also be drawn to the fact that traces of mediation could bring them a unique sense of joy and wonder, while allowing an active interaction with the object too. This experience would form a stark contrast to that offered by the stereoscope, which was presented

as a device that made possible embodied realism and could be enjoyed by simply immersing oneself in the views on stereographs. At the same time, since the structure of layered panels is associated with a rather dated way of representing three-dimensionality, the emphasis on it could function to conjure up feelings of nostalgia and quaintness that could evoke a different kind of pleasure for users.

Conclusion

From depicting the procession of William IV to the House of Lords to portraying Victoria's visit to the City of London, paper peepshows of royal events play an important role in our understanding of this medium due to their presence throughout almost the whole period that it was active on the market, between the early 1830s and early 1850s.

Analysis of works of royal events has allowed an investigation of how publishers constantly repositioned the paper peepshow according to the changes on the market in order to maintain the commercial value of their products. In the 1830s, works depicting royal occasions were used to explore a new type of subject matters and were produced to cater to people's interest in contemporary events and their wish to be closer to or present in them. However, in the early 1850s, when the paper peepshow faced the challenge of being made obsolete by the forces of the market, works of the same topic can be understood as examples of residual cultural elements, forming an alternative or even oppositional relation to the dominant. However, near the end of the nineteenth century, the paper peepshow eventually ceased being the residual and became the archaic, a medium of the past that had little to do with the contemporary.

Raymond Williams argues that the archaic is a cultural element that is sometimes 'consciously "revived",' and indeed this has been happening to the paper peepshow since the mid-twentieth century, giving rise to works that reinvent and/or innovate the structure and consumption experience of this medium again.[124] The work depicting the coronation of Elizabeth II mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, is such an example. In this completely new era, such works carry a whole different set of significance, and through analysing them and their interaction with other media, we can also hope to discover more insight into the visual culture of our own time.

[124] Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 122.

Conclusion

This study of the English paper peepshow between 1825 and 1851 investigates this medium from various perspectives, correcting some common misconceptions of it in existing scholarship while also broadening the current understanding of it significantly. By insisting on taking the paper peepshow out of the teleology of the cinema or children's pop-up books, this thesis has been able to unearth other cultural and socio-economic factors that might have contributed to its origin, one of which being its connection with different aspects of print culture in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Crucially, the discussion highlights the force of consumer culture in this process and the fact that the paper peepshow is not just an object for scholarly discussion, but also used to be a commodity. This approach has allowed an investigation of those who produced and distributed this medium too. The case study chapters deal with four subject matters represented in paper peepshows, including theatre, English watering resorts, the Thames Tunnel, and royal events. They offer opportunities for a thorough investigation of the multi-sensory experience of using this medium as well as its evolution in different stages.

Taking media archaeology as the main methodology, this thesis stresses that the study of the paper peepshow and its development is not simply about finding out some abstruse facts about a relatively little-known medium. Rather, the examination in this study seeks to contribute new understandings of nineteenth-century English visual culture in general and optical entertainments in particular by looking at the untold, alternative histories associated with the paper peepshow. The different modes of looking and other forms of sensory experience that occurred during the consumption of different entertainments also constituted an important part of this visual culture, and the analysis in this thesis has added dimensions to the scholarly debate on this topic too. This is also why an intermedial methodology is necessary. By approaching the paper peepshow not only from its own development as a medium but also its connection with various other media, including theatre, topographical prints, and the stereoscope, my research presents itself as one that has a clear focus on one medium, but can also produce findings that have broad implications to our understanding of early- to mid-nineteenth century English visual culture.

My thesis takes 1851 to be the date to end my investigation of the paper peepshow, but its evolution continued. Starting from the second half of the nineteenth century, it increasingly became incorporated into children's pop-up books or pop-up

greeting cards. Near the middle of the twentieth century, it was again produced in its original structure, but targeted at a young audience. The situation began to change once more around the beginning of the new millennium. As the idea of artist books becomes popular, the paper peepshow has caught the attention of some artists engaging with the idea of creative ways of interacting with paper (such as Su Blackwell from Britain) or exploring new methods of representing visual experience (such as Alice Austin from the United States of America). That the paper peepshow has now acquired multiple functions again and is regarded not only as a children's toy can also be testified by my own experience. In 2018, I held a round-table discussion, where speakers, including literature scholars Marina Warner and John Plunkett, museum curator Catherine Yvard, and collector Jonathan Gestetner, and audience members who were artists or students of nineteenth-century English/British culture, approached the paper peepshow from many different aspects, historical or contemporary. Their comments further demonstrate the relevance of this medium to our time. Alongside the discussion, I also organized a paper peepshow making workshop, led by Su Blackwell. The majority of the participants, among whom there were some academics researching the visual culture of the long nineteenth century, perceived the medium not as infantile, but an artistic medium that can help explore topics such as materiality and sensory experiences (Fig. 6.1 and Fig. 6.2).[1] The idea behind the workshop was to explore the potential of nineteenth-century optical toys like the paper peepshow for contemporary scholarship in a learning-by-making framework. This concept has been gaining more interest in recent years as practitioners and scholars from various fields such as history, childhood studies, and film studies start to incorporate the combination of theoretical analysis and making historical optical devices in modern settings as a research and teaching methodology.[2]

As the nineteenth-century paper peepshow starts to receive more attention, especially from scholars, it is hoped that this study can contribute to expanding our understanding of it. By redefining its historical roles and meanings, analysing the multiple factors that have influenced its emergence, and examining the key features

[1] As is clear from the image, the design by Blackwell does not have a front-face with a peep-hole and thus does not follow the conventional structure of the paper peepshow.

[2] See Patrick Ellis and Colin Williamson, 'Object Lessons, Old and New: Experimental Media Archaeology in the Classroom,' *Early Popular Visual Culture* 18, no. 1, Special Issue: Object Lessons, Old and New: Experimental Media Archaeology in the Classroom (2020): 2-14, for an overview of the relevant research. See articles in the same special issue for some specific examples. In particular, Cornfield's article in this issue, 'The Lesson in the Object,' talks about her experience of remaking the paper peepshow in her research and teaching.

of its consumption, this thesis has hopefully provided some core parameters for approaching this medium. In addition, building on the work about the V&A Gestetner Collection by Ralph Hyde, I have further collected extensive information about the representation of British paper peepshows (1825-1851) in collections in Europe and North America, and this database can be of significant use for future research.[3]

Of course, the limited scope of a thesis, the time devoted to the research, as well as many other restrictions mean that many important aspects could not find their place in this study. For instance, while my research focuses on the connection between the paper peepshow and other media contemporary to it, a study that looks at a historical intermedial relationship will also certainly produce valuable insights into not just this object, but also the development of visual culture. A transnational approach is also important in investigating this medium that was produced in many regions, mostly European countries, in the nineteenth century. An investigation of the similarities and differences, and perhaps also communication and rivalry between works produced in different regions in Europe is also crucial for our understanding of the paper peepshow in the 1800s. With increasing amount of archival resources becoming available, it might be feasible to examine nineteenth-century homemade paper peepshows more in-depth than this thesis has done. The study of this group of works will generate significant insight into the print culture and Do-it-Yourself culture in this period. Although a printed ephemeral that appears fragile and insignificant, the paper peepshow has nonetheless survived into today in considerable numbers, which can to a certain extent testify how consumers cherished it, as well as the amusing, curious, and interesting experience it brought them. This thesis demonstrates that through the investigation of seemingly simple items like the paper peepshow, which can nonetheless evoke wonder and joy, we can gain more understanding of the nineteenth-century visual culture, and the wider socio-cultural environment it belonged, that is no longer available to us.

[3] I chose to include British, instead of only English works so that the information in the database can be of use in a wider range of context.

Figures

Fig. 0.1. *The Areaorama, a View in the Regent's Park.* Published by S. & J. Fuller. Hand-coloured etching. 11 x 14 x 75 cm (expanded). 1825. Expanded view. AA9065 L8 Ar31 S, Avery Classics, Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. © Courtesy of Columbia University, New York. With author's annotation.

Fig. 0.2. *The Areaorama, a View in the Regent's Park.* Published by S. & J. Fuller. Hand-coloured etching. 11 x 14 x 75 cm (expanded). 1825. Peep-view. Gestetner 193, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 0.3. *Die Tuillerien [sic] in Paris./ La Tuillerie [sic] à Paris./ The Tuilleries [sic] at Paris.* Anonymous. Hand-coloured lithograph. 15 x 14.5 x 26 cm (expanded). c1852. Front-Face. Gestetner 178, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 0.4. *Place de Promenade à Hambourg/ Promenade Platz zu Hamburg/ Walking Place at Hambro.* Anonymous. Medium unknown. 14 x 19 cm (closed). c1850. Front-Face. Col. 220, acc. 01 x 111, Manuscripts Collection, Winterthur Library, Winterthur, Del. © Courtesy, the Winterthur Library: Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera. Author's photo.

Fig 0.5. Peep show with 18 paper slides (French). Anonymous. Glass, ink, metal, paint, paper, string, textile and wood. 11.4 x 16.2 x 26.2 cm (closed). 1848. 1985-2214/30, Science Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Science Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 0.6. Perspective view peepshow box. Anonymous. Medium, dimensions, and date unknown. Open view. 69027, Bill Douglas Cinema Museum, University of Exeter, Exeter. © Courtesy of the Bill Douglas Cinema Museum, University of Exeter. Author's photo.

Fig. 0.7. Diorama Teatrale [Perspective Toy Theatre Assembled]. Published by Martin Engelbrecht. Medium and dimensions unknown. c1750. VA 163, Museo del Precinema, Padua. © Courtesy of Museo del Precinema, Padua.

Fig. 0.8. *View of St James's Park and Her Majesty Queen Victoria Going to the House of Lords*. Anonymous. Pen and ink and watercolour. 11.5 x 14 x 54 cm (expanded). c1838. Peep-view. Gestetner 232, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo. This view is possible because the front-face of this work is detached from the rest. Normally the view through the peep-hole, when the paper peepshow is not expanded, reveals even less of the scene.

Fig. 1.1. [*The Burlington Arcade as It Was in 1818. . .*]. Anonymous. Medium unknown. 10.2 x 11.8 cm (closed). 1868. Front-Face. Opie E 68, Opie Collection of Children's Literature, Bodleian Library, Oxford University Libraries, Oxford. © Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Author's photo.

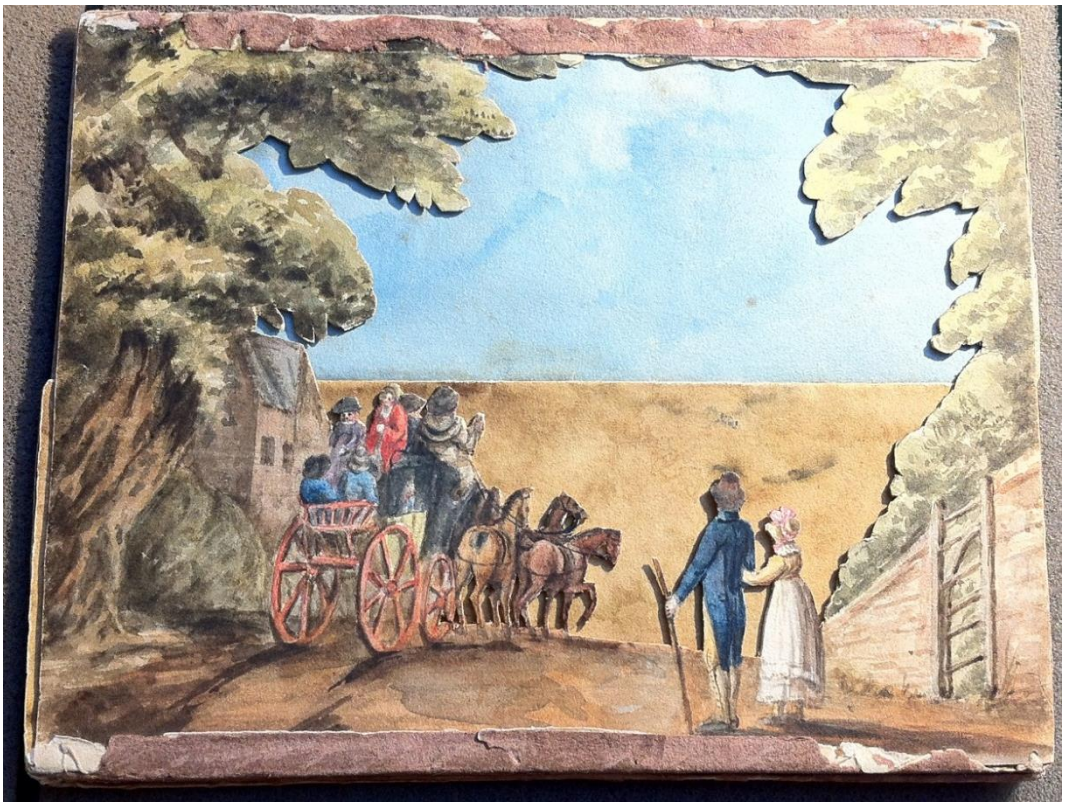


Fig. 1.2. *The Wye. Newland House*. Made by F. J. Durbin. Watercolour. 12.5 x 16 cm (closed). c1819. Front-Face. Eng 18 3012, Cotsen Children's Library, Princeton University Library, Princeton, N.J. © Courtesy of Princeton University Library, Princeton. Author's photo.

Fig. 1.3. [*Peep-Show Assembled from Figures Cut-Out of Engraved Book Illustrations.*]. Anonymous. Hand-coloured engraving and watercolour. 12 x 15 cm (closed). c1824. Front-Face. Manuscript/Box 3 26205, Special Collection, Princeton University Library, Princeton, N.J. © Courtesy of Princeton University Library, Princeton. Author's photo.

Fig. 1.4. *The Wye. Newland House.* Made by F. J. Durbin. Watercolour. 12.5 x 16 cm (closed). c1819. Back-scene. Eng 18 3012, Cotsen Children's Library, Princeton University Library, Princeton, N.J. © Courtesy of Princeton University Library, Princeton. Author's photo.

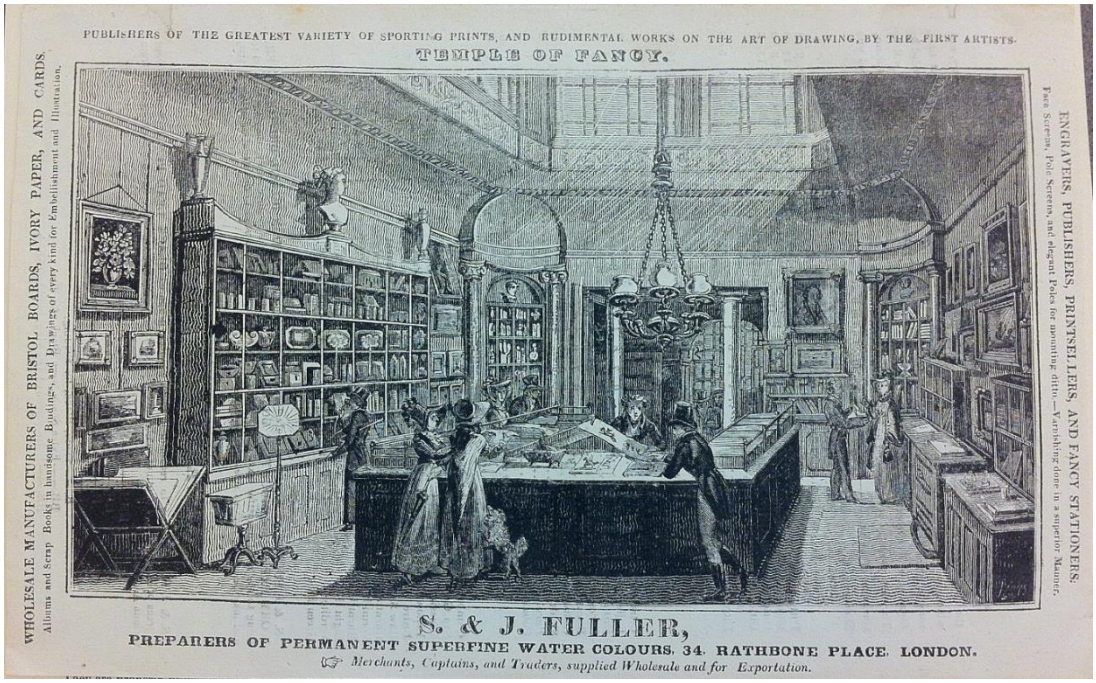


Fig. 1.5. Print of the shop of S. & J. Fuller. Published by S. & J. Fuller. Medium and dimensions unknown. 1820s. Folder Fuller, Temple of Fancy, John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera, Bodleian Library, Oxford University Libraries, Oxford. © Courtesy of Bodleian Library, Oxford. Author's photo.

Fig. 1.6. Trade Card of Charles Tilt. Anonymous. Medium and dimensions unknown. 1820s. Heal,111.148, Heal Collection, British Museum, London. © The Trustees of the British Museum. CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

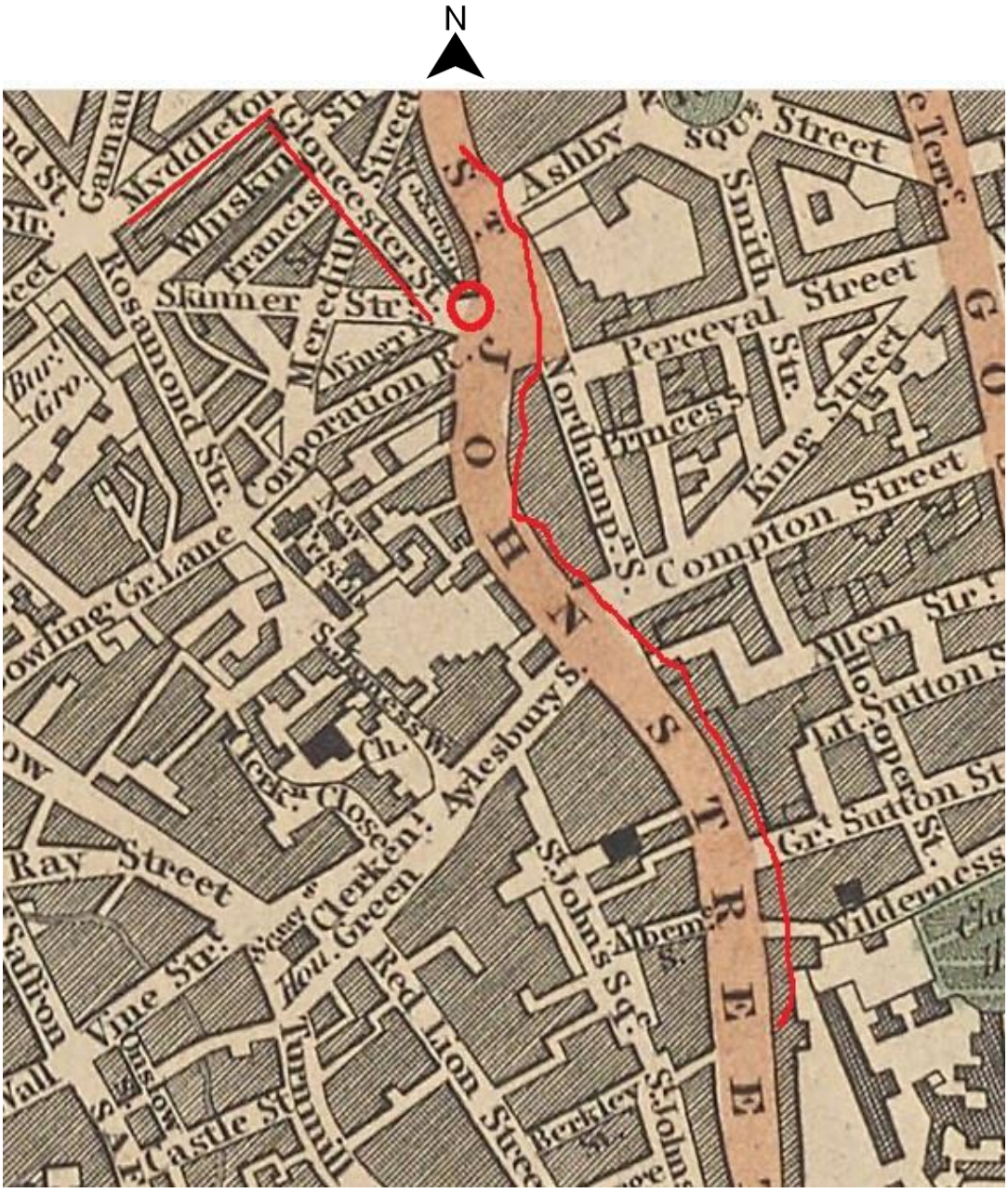


Fig. 1.7. Detail of *Cruchley's New Plan of London Improved to 1827 including the East and West India Docks*. Published by G. F. Cruchley. Coloured engraving. 44 x 92 cm. 1827. 32 L84 1827, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. © Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, New Haven. With author's annotation. The location marked on the map is where the shop of C. Essex & Co or Charles Essex was.

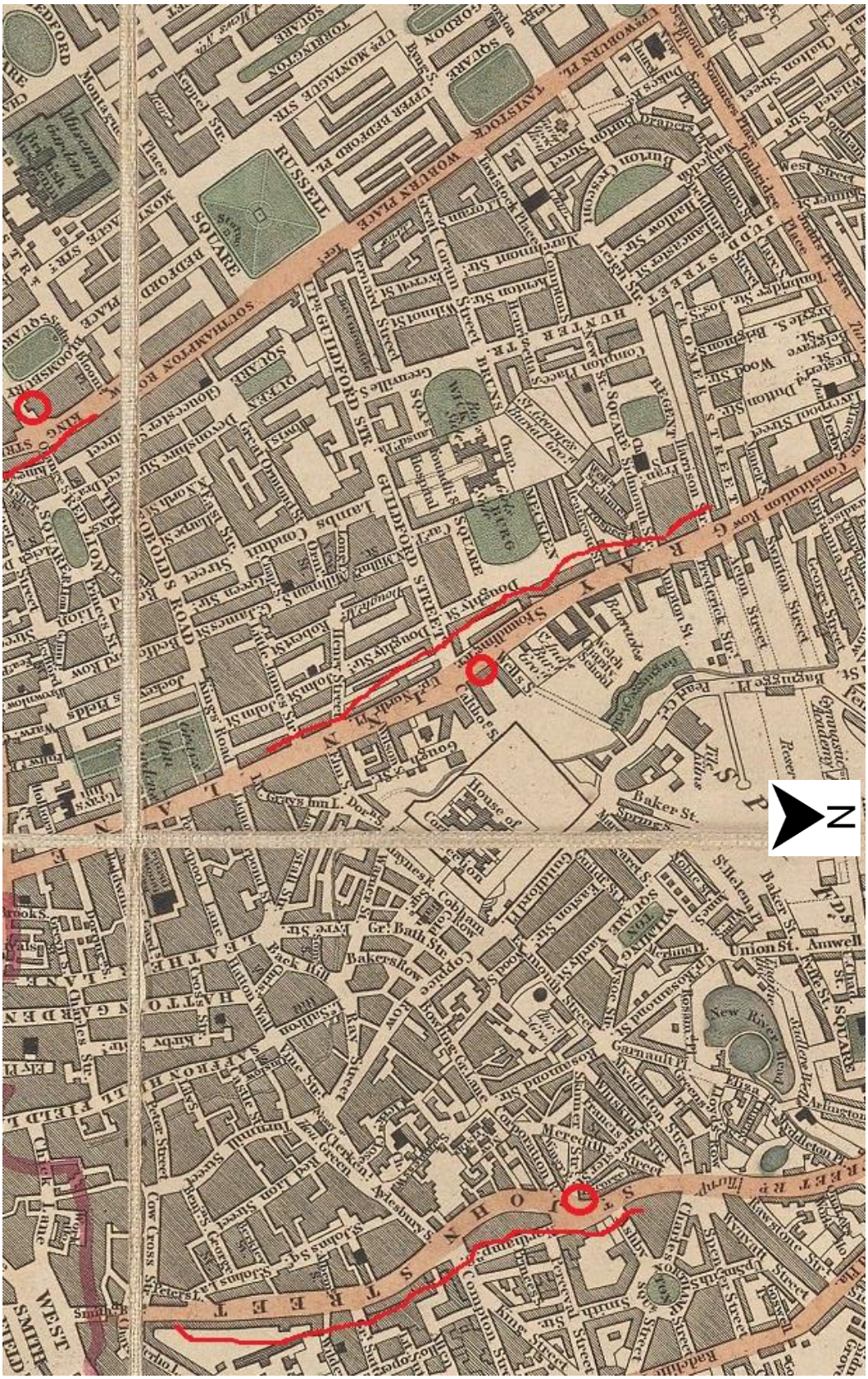


Fig. 1.8. Detail of *Cruchley's New Plan of London Improved to 1827 including the East and West India Docks*. Published by G. F. Cruchley. Coloured engraving. 44 x 92 cm. 1827. 32 L84 1827, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. © Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, New Haven. With author's annotation. The locations marked on the map are where the shops of C. Essex & Co or Charles Essex were.

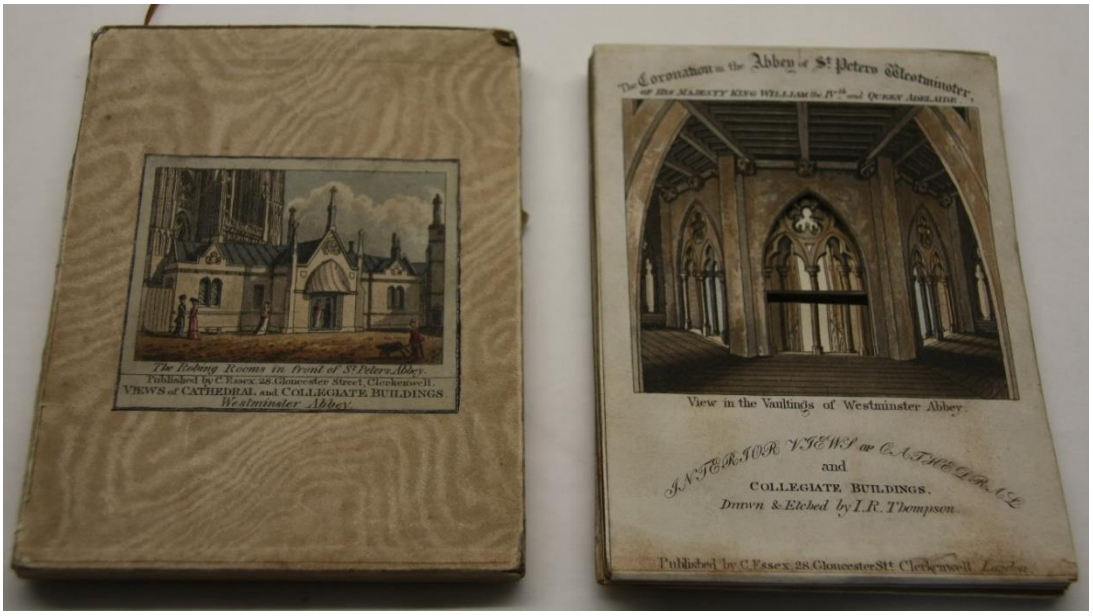


Fig. 1.9. *The Coronation in the Abbey of St Peter's Westminster, of His Majesty King William IV*th *and Queen Adelaide.* Drawn and etched by James Robert Thompson, published by C. Essex. Hand-coloured aquatint. 14.7 x 11.4 x 76 cm (expanded). 1831. Slipcase and Front-face. Gestetner 224, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

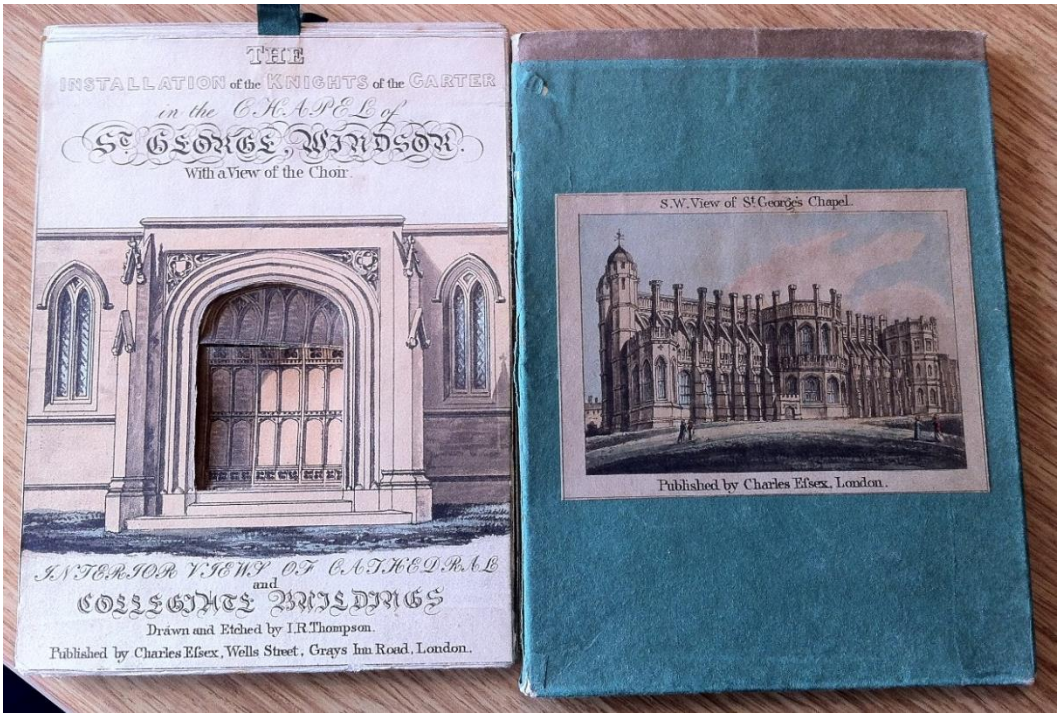


Fig. 1.10. *The Installation of the Knights of the Garter in the Chapel of St. George, Windsor.* Drawn and etched by James Robert Thompson, published by Charles Essex. Hand-coloured aquatint. 15 x 11.2 x 73 cm (expanded). c1831. Slipcase and front-face. Gestetner 218, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

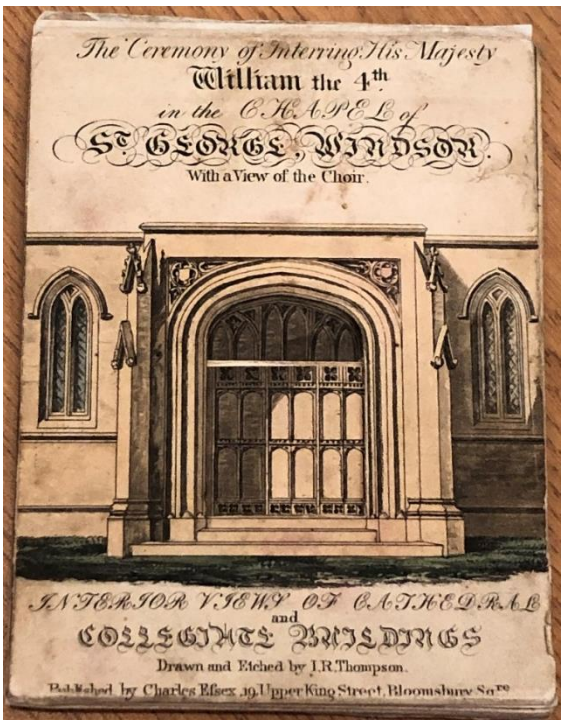


Fig. 1.11. *The Ceremony of Interring His Majesty William the 4th in the Chapel of St. George, Windsor*. Drawn and etched by James Robert Thompson, published by Charles Essex. 15 x 11 (closed). 1837. Front-face. DA539. T47 C4, Lilly Library, University of Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. © Courtesy of the Lilly Library, Bloomington.

Fig. 1.12. Detail of *Cruchley's New Plan of London Improved to 1827 including the East and West India Docks*. Published by G. F. Cruchley. Coloured engraving. 44 x 92 cm. 1827. 32 L84 1827, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. © Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, New Haven. With author's annotation. The three locations marked on the map, from left to right are the Royal Bazaar on Oxford Street, the Soho Bazaar in Soho Square, and the New Royal Bazaar and Baker's Panorama in Leicester Square.

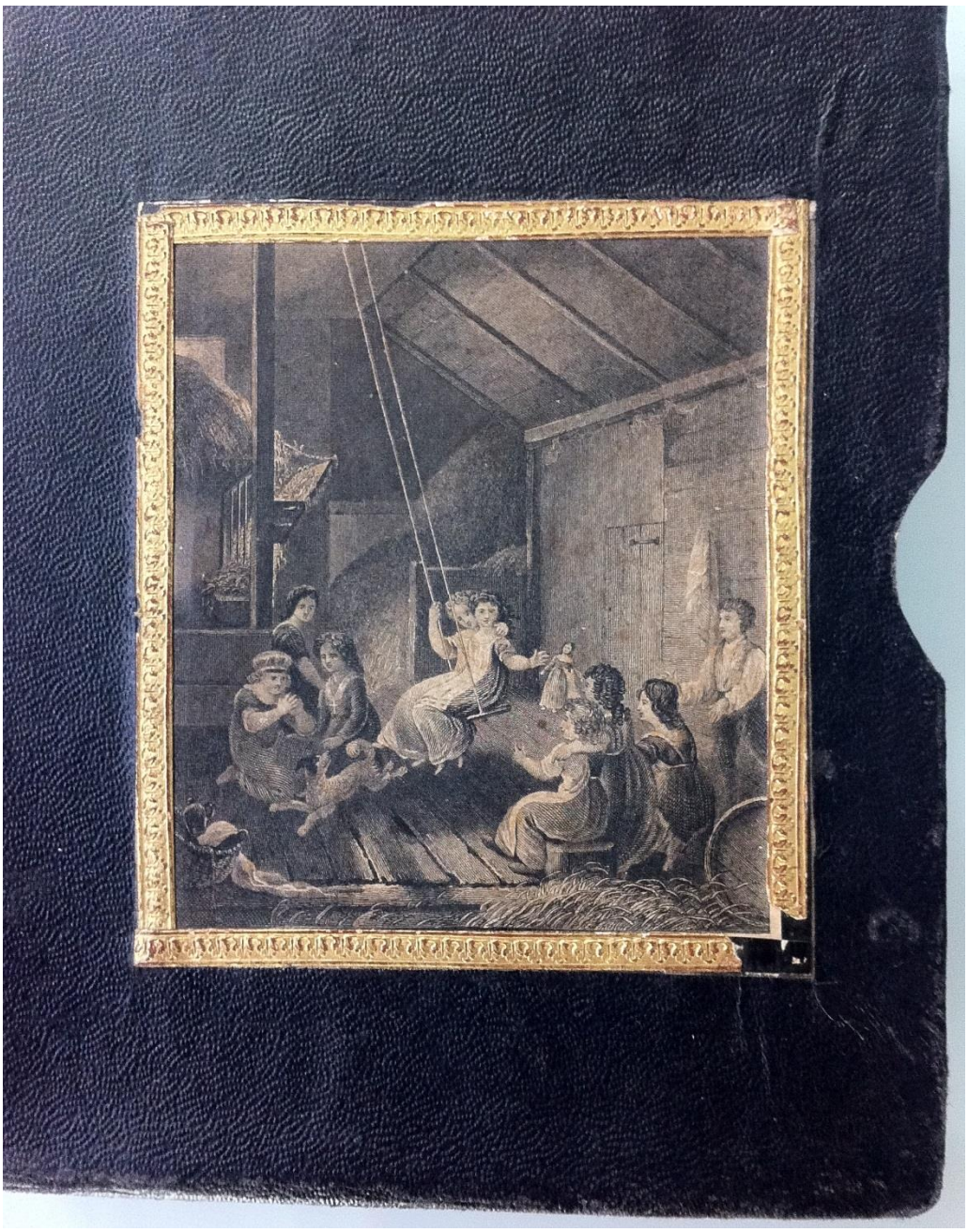


Fig. 1.13. *The Areaorama, a View in the Regent's Park.* Published by S. & J. Fuller. Hand-coloured etching. 11.2 x 14 x 68 cm (expanded). 1825. Alternative slipcase. SC/GL/PAN/001/p5389712, London Metropolitan Archives, City of London. © London Metropolitan Archives, London. Author's photo.

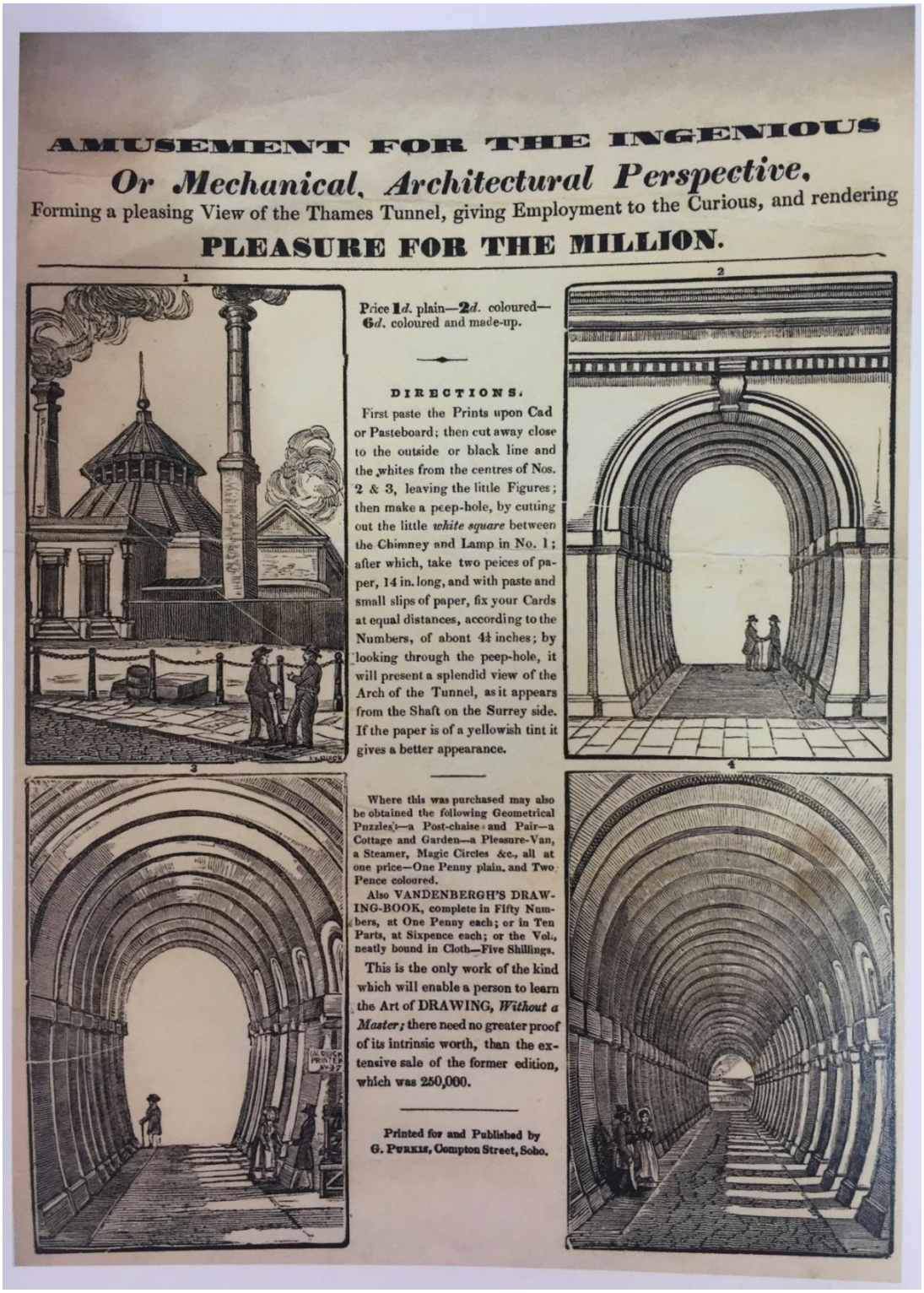


Fig. 1.14. *Amusement for the Ingenious or Mechanical* [paper peepshow construction sheet]. Printed for and published by G. Purkis. Wood engraving. 12 x 8 cm. c1843. Ironbridge Gorge Museum, Telford. © Courtesy of the Ironbridge Gore Museum, Telford.

Fig. 1.15. [*A Ball*]. Anonymous. Hand-coloured lithograph and muslin. 13.5 x 16 x 41 cm (expanded). c.1830. Front-face and a loose clipping. Gestetner 219, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 1.16. [*A Ball*]. Anonymous. Hand-coloured lithograph and muslin. 13.5 x 16 x 41 cm (expanded). c.1830. Cut-out panel detail. Gestetner 219, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 1.17. [*A Formal Ball*]. Anonymous. Pen and ink and gouache on paper, with gauze fabric, embossed gilt, and glass. 14 x 16 cm (closed). c.1815. Front-face. GV1199 F58, Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Conn. © Courtesy of Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. Author's photo.

Fig. 1.18. [*A Ball*]. Anonymous. Hand-coloured lithograph and muslin. 13.5 x 16 x 41 cm (expanded). c.1830. Peep-view. Gestetner 219. Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo. With author's annotation. The parts circled are examples that demonstrate the almost identical-looking elements in [*A Ball*] and [*A Formal Ball*].

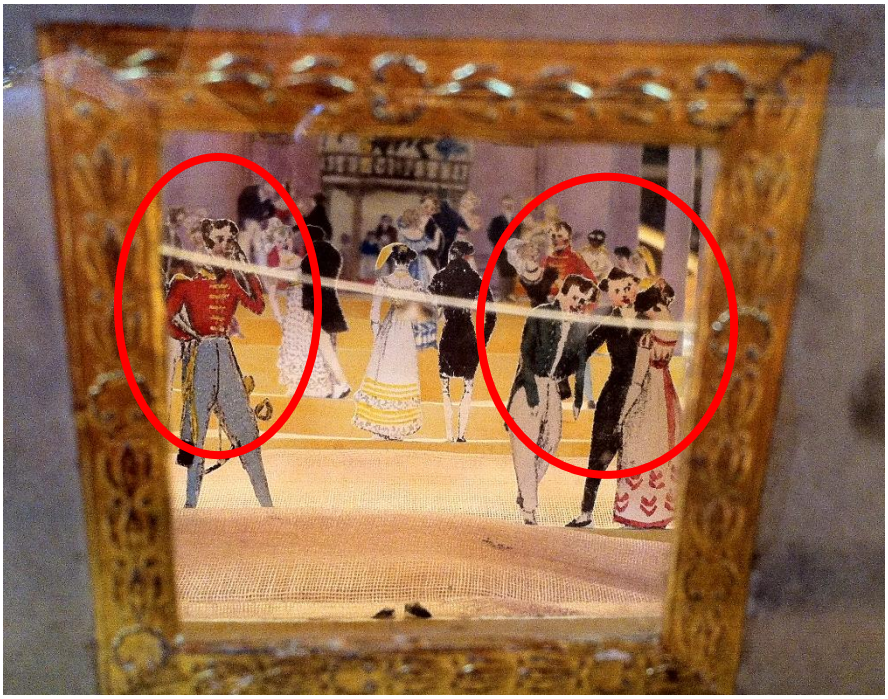


Fig. 1.19. [*A Formal Ball*]. Anonymous. Pen and ink and gouache on paper, with gauze fabric, embossed gilt, and glass. 14 x 16 cm (closed). c.1815. Front-face. GV1199 F58, Paul Mellon Collection. Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Conn. © Courtesy of Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. Author's photo. With author's annotation. The parts circled are examples that demonstrate the almost identical-looking elements in [*A Ball*] and [*A Formal Ball*]. The man on the left is accompanied by another man (as in [*A Ball*]), who is obscured by the front-face in this photo.

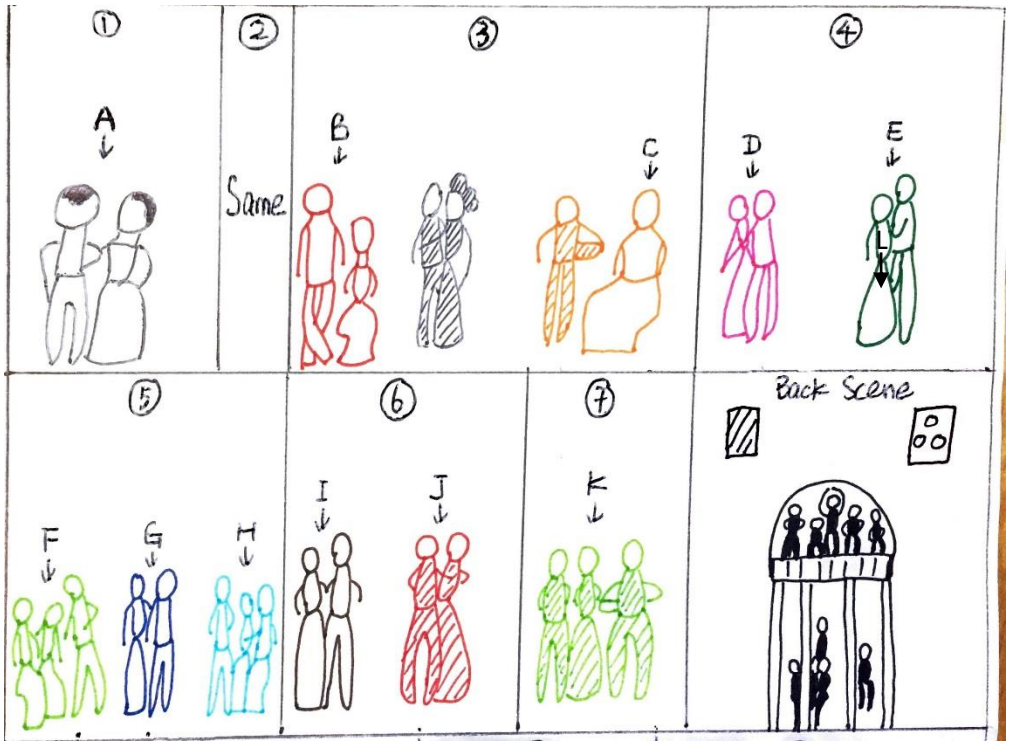


Fig. 1.20. Illustration of the groups of figures on the panels of [*A Ball*]. The circled numbers refer to the order of the panels. Figure groups that have the same colour, pattern, and letter in this illustration and Fig. 1.21 refer to clippings with the same appearance but sometimes different colouring. If a figure/group of figures do not appear in both illustrations, it means they do not appear in both works.

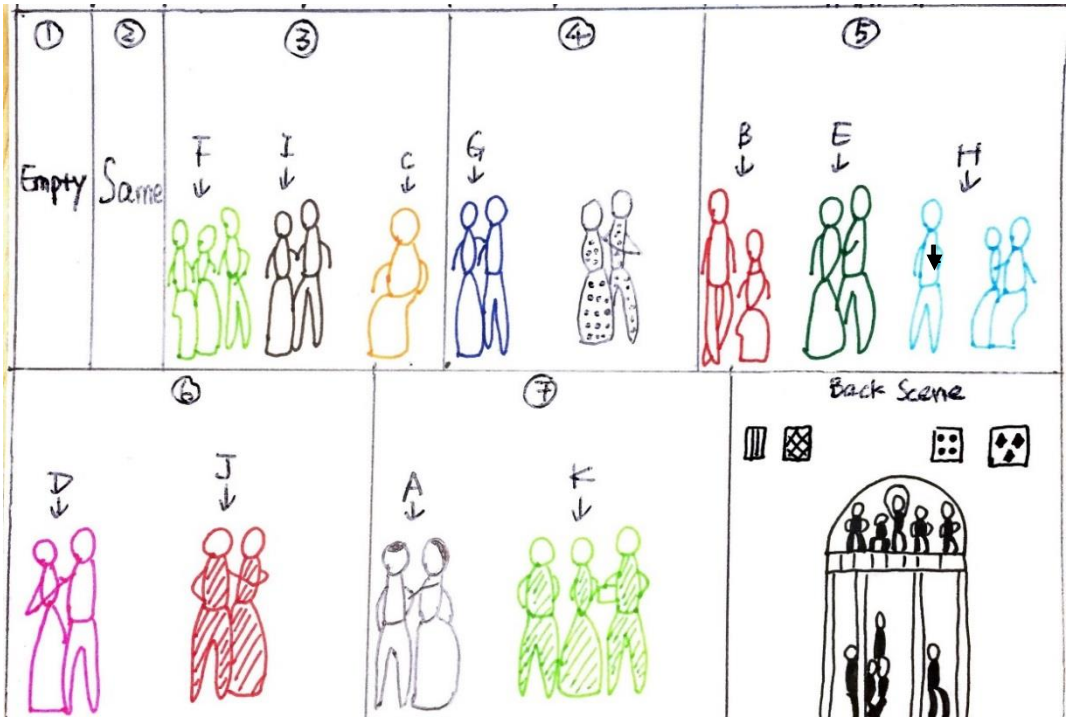


Fig. 1.21. Illustration of the groups of figures on the panels of [*A Formal Ball*]. The circled numbers refer to the order of the panels. Figure groups that have the same colour, pattern, and letter in this illustration and Fig. 1.20 refer to clippings with the same appearance but sometimes different colouring. If a figure/group of figures do not appear in both illustrations, it means they do not appear in both works.

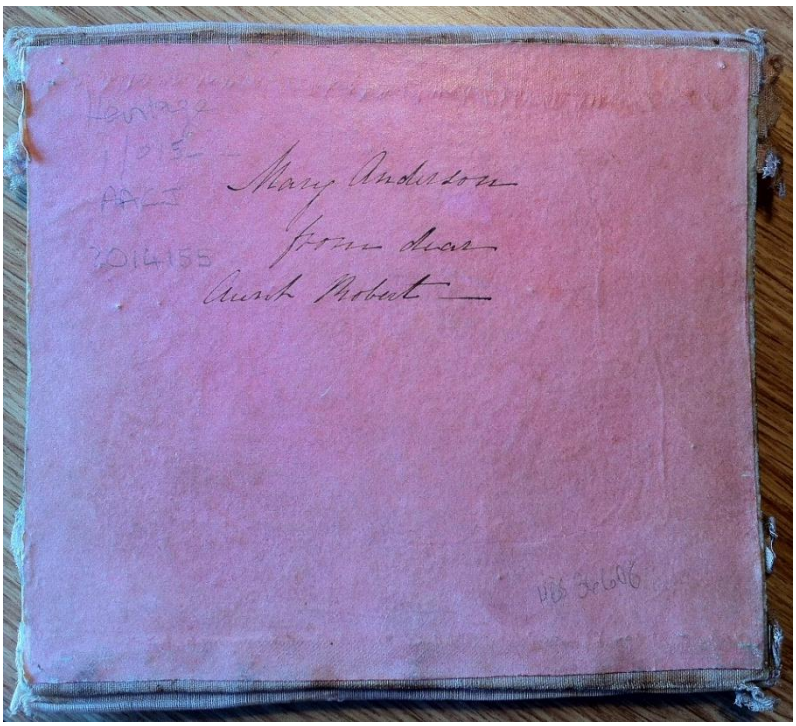


Fig. 1.22. [*A Ball*]. Anonymous. Hand-coloured lithograph and muslin. 13.5 x 16 x 41 cm (expanded). c.1830. Reverse of the Back-board. Gestetner 219, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 1.23. *The Areaorama, a View in the Regent's Park.* Published by S. & J. Fuller. Hand-coloured etching. 11 x 14 x 75 cm (expanded). 1825. Cut-out panel detail. SC/GL/PAN/001/p5389712, London Metropolitan Archives, City of London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 2.1. [*Masquerade*]. Lithographed by T. M. Baynes, published by S. & J. Fuller. Hand-coloured lithograph. 25 x 36.4 x 48 cm (expanded). 1826. Peep-view. Gestetner 207, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Photography: Dennis Crompton.

Fig. 2.2. *The Vauxhall Juvenile Fete*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured etching. 11.5 x 14.5 x 61 cm (expanded). c1828. Peep-view. Gestetner 206, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 2.3. [Diorama of the Tower of Babel]. Attributed to Martin Engelbrecht. Hand-coloured engraving. 9 x 13.6 cm. Assembled view. Toys 19178, Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Princeton, N.J. © Courtesy of Princeton University Library, Princeton. Author's photo.

Fig. 2.4. *Theatrorama, or a Peep at the Playhouse*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint. 10.7 x 13 40 cm (expanded). c1825. Peep-view. Gestetner 205, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo. With author's annotation.

Fig. 2.5. *Theatrorama, or a Peep at the Playhouse*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint. 10.7 x 13 40 cm (expanded). c1825. Second cut-out panel detail. Gestetner 205, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 2.6. *Theatrorama, or a Peep at the Playhouse*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint. 10.7 x 13 40 cm (expanded). c1825. Third cut-out panel detail. Gestetner 205, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 2.7. *Theatrorama, or a Peep at the Playhouse*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint. 10.7 x 13 40 cm (expanded). c1825. Fourth cut-out panel detail. Gestetner 205, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

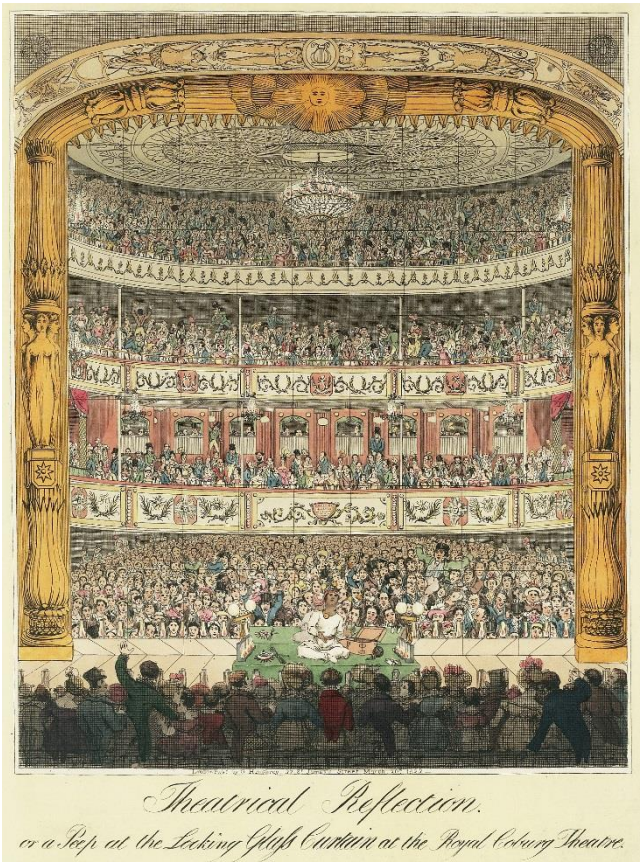
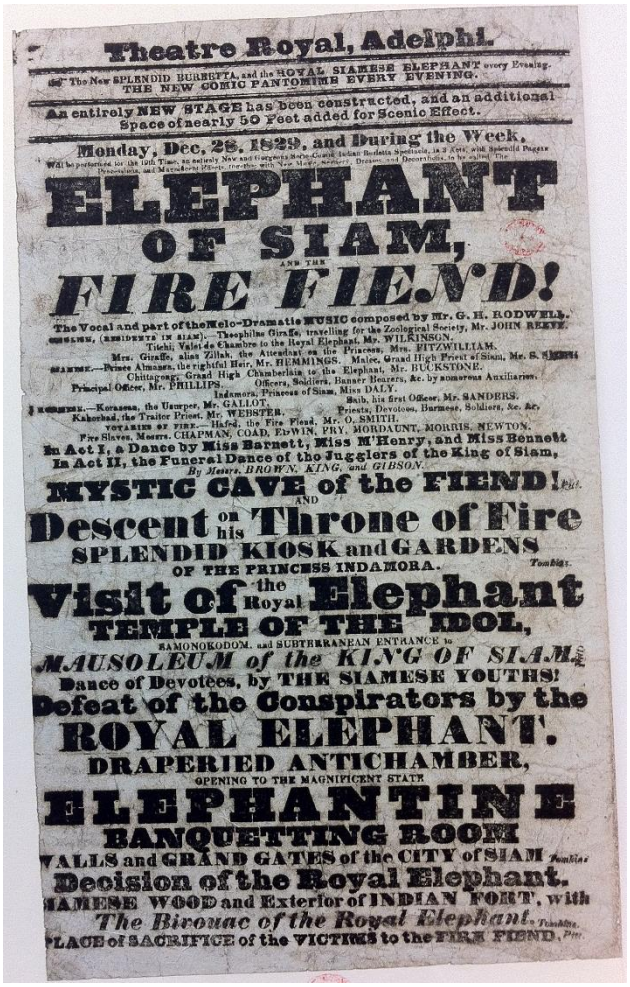


Fig. 2.8. *Theatrical Reflection, or a Peep at the Looking Glass Curtain at the Royal Coburg Theatre*. Published by G. Humphrey, 27 St. James's Street, London. Hand-coloured etching. 30.9 x 26 cm. 1822. 1822.2005676992, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Cartoon Prints, British. © Library of Congress, Washington D. C.

Fig. 2.9. *Theatrorama, or a Peep at the Playhouse*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint. 10.7 x 13 40 cm (expanded). c1825. Second cut-out panel detail. Gestetner 205, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 2.10. *Theatrorama, or a Peep at the Playhouse*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint. 10.7 x 13 40 cm (expanded). c1825. Front-face. Gestetner 205, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 2.11. *Theatrorama, or a Peep at the Playhouse*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint. 10.7 x 13 40 cm (expanded). c1825. First cut-out panel. Gestetner 205, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.


Theatre Royal, Adelphi.

The New SPLENDID BURLETTA, and the ROYAL SIAMESE ELEPHANT every Evening.
THE NEW COMIC PANTOMIME EVERY EVENING.

An entirely NEW STAGE has been constructed, and an additional Space of nearly 50 Feet added for Scenic Effect.

Monday, Dec. 28, 1829, and During the Week,

ELEPHANT
OF SIAM,
AND THE
FIRE FIEND!

The Vocal and part of the Melo-Dramatic MUSIC composed by Mr. G. H. RODWELL.

Theophilus Giraffe, travelling for the Zoological Society, Mr. JOHN REEVE.
Tichi, Valet de Chambre to the Royal Elephant, Mr. WILKINSON.
Mrs. Giraffe, alias Zillah, the Attendant on the Princess, Mrs. FITZWILLIAM.
Prince Almanes, the rightful Heir, Mr. HEMMINGS. Malec, Grand High Priest of Siam, Mr. S.
Chitapong, Grand High Chamberlain to the Elephant, Mr. BUCKSTONE.
Principal Officer, Mr. PHILLIPS. Officers, Soldiers, Banner Bearers, &c. by numerous Auxiliaries.
Indamora, Princess of Siam, Miss DALY.
Saib, his first Officer, Mr. SANDERS.
Priests, Devotees, Burmese, Soldiers, &c. &c.
VOTARIES OF FIRE.—Hafed, the Fire Fiend, Mr. O. SMITH.
Fire Slaves, Messrs. CHAPMAN, COAD, EDWIN, FRY, MORDAUNT, MORRIS, NEWTON.

In Act I, a Dance by Miss Barnett, Miss M'Henry, and Miss Bennett
In Act II, the Funeral Dance of the Jugglers of the King of Siam,
By Messrs. BROWN, KING, and GIBSON.

MYSTIC CAVE of the FIEND!
AND
Descent on his Throne of Fire
SPLENDID KIOSK and GARDENS
OF THE PRINCESS INDAMORA.
Visit of the Royal Elephant
TEMPLE OF THE IDOL,
SAMONOKODOM, and SUBTERRANEAN ENTRANCE to
MAUSOLEUM of the KING OF SIAM.
Dance of Devotees, by THE SIAMESE YOUTHS!
Defeat of the Conspirators by the
ROYAL ELEPHANT.
DRAPERIED ANTICHAMBER,
OPENING TO THE MAGNIFICENT STATE
ELEPHANTINE
BANQUETTING ROOM
WALLS and GRAND GATES of the CITY of SIAM
Decision of the Royal Elephant.
SIAMESE WOOD and Exterior of INDIAN FORT, with
The Bivouac of the Royal Elephant.
PLACE of SACRIFICE of the VICTIMS to the FIRE FIEND,

Fig. 2.12. Playbill for *Elephant of Siam and the Fire Fiend!*. Anonymous. Medium and dimensions unknown. 1829-1830. Production File Adelphi 1829/30, Theatre and Performance Collections, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 2.13. Souvenir plate for *Elephant of Siam and the Fire Fiend!*. Anonymous. Medium and dimensions unknown. 1829-1830. Private Collection, United Kingdom.

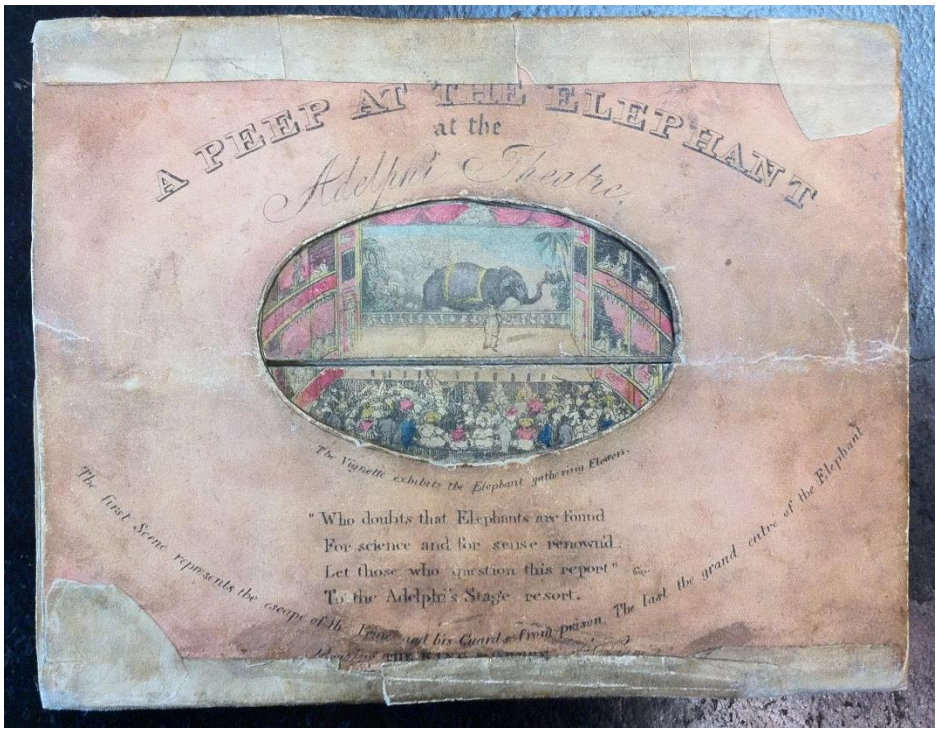


Fig. 2.14. *A Peep at the Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint. 14 x 10.8 x 45 cm (expanded). c1829. Front-Face. Gestetner 214, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 2.15. *A Peep at the Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint and watercolour. 14 x 10.8 x 45 cm (expanded). c1829. Slipcase. Opie E 67, Opie Collection of Children's Literature, Bodleian Library, Oxford University Libraries, Oxford. © Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Author's photo.

Fig. 2.16. *A Peep at the Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint and watercolour. 14 x 10.8 x 45 cm (expanded). c1829. Front-face. Opie E 67, Opie Collection of Children's Literature, Bodleian Library, Oxford University Libraries, Oxford. © Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Author's photo.

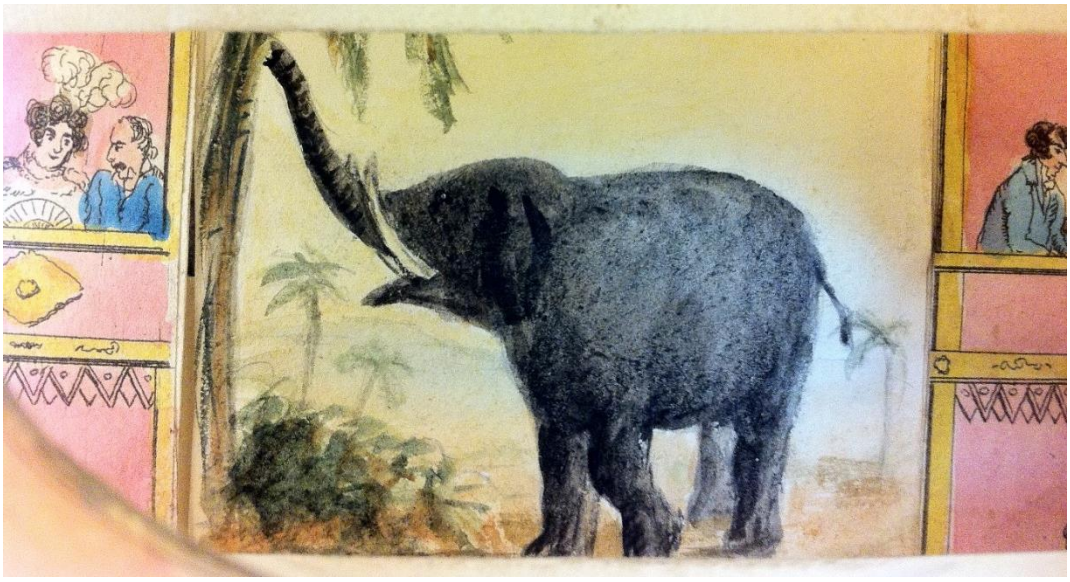


Fig. 2.17. *A Peep at the Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint and watercolour. 14 x 10.8 x 45 cm (expanded). c1829. First cut-out panel detail. Opie E 67, Opie Collection of Children's Literature, Bodleian Library, Oxford University Libraries, Oxford. © Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Author's photo.

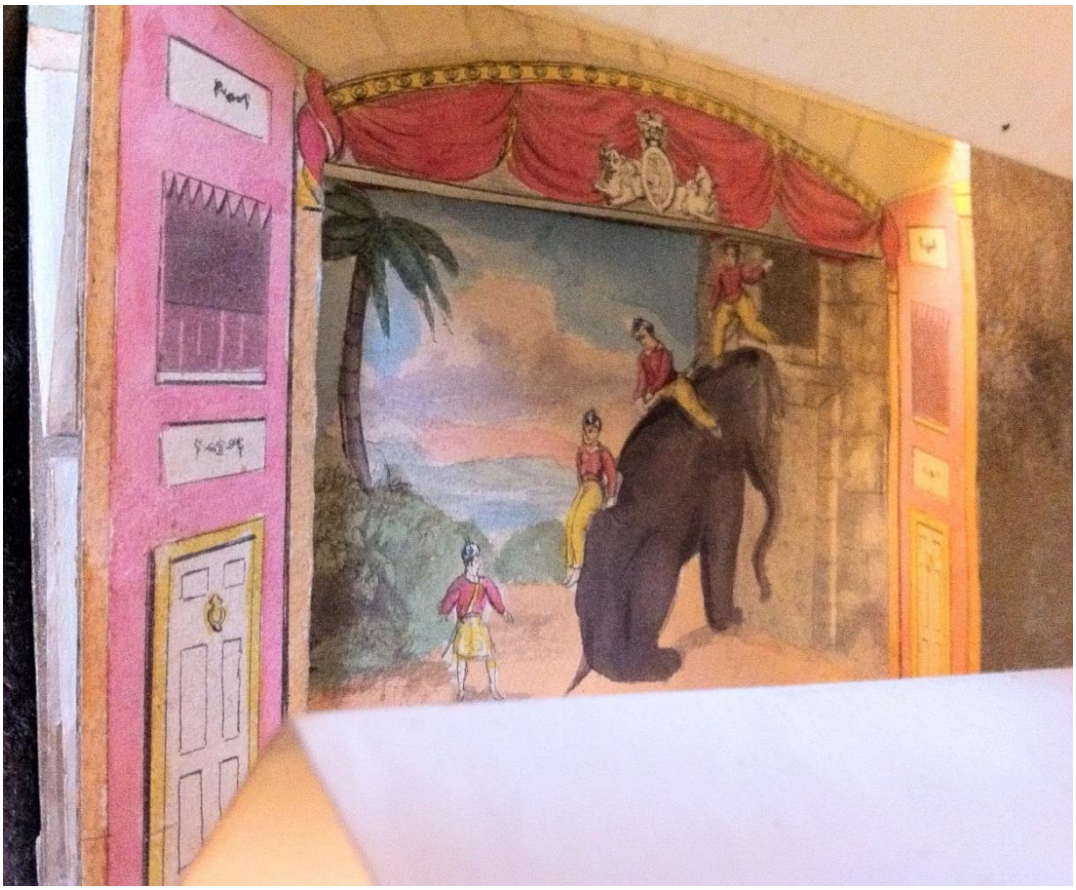


Fig. 2.18. *A Peep at the Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint. 14 x 10.8 x 45 cm (expanded). c1829. Fourth cut-out panel with the central panel closed. Gestetner 214, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

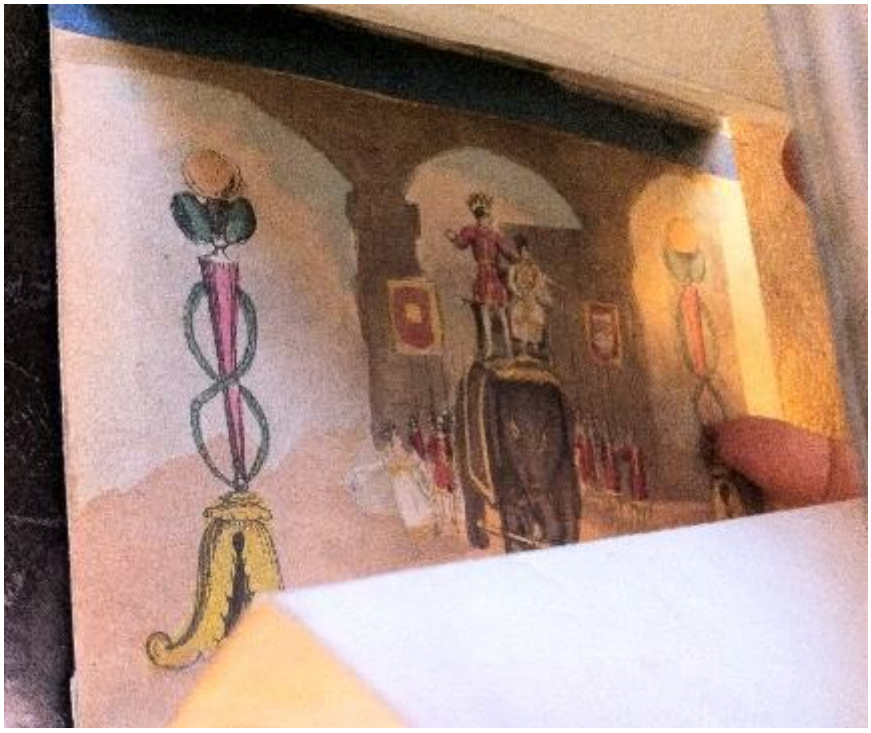


Fig. 2.19. *A Peep at the Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint. 14 x 10.8 x 45 cm (expanded). c1829. Back-scene. Gestetner 214, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 2.20. *A Peep at the Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint. 14 x 10.8 x 45 cm (expanded). c1829. Fourth cut-out panel with the central panel open. Gestetner 214, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Photography: Dennis Crompton.

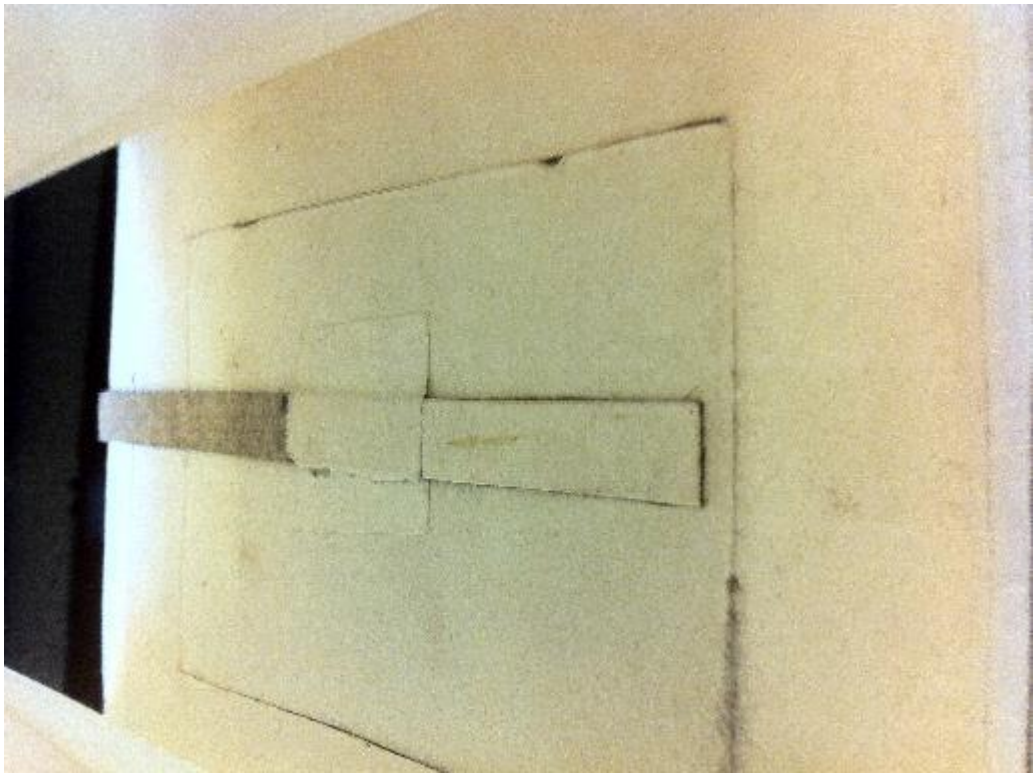


Fig. 2.21. *A Peep at the Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint and watercolour. 14 x 10.8 x 45 cm (expanded). c1829. The back of the first cut-out panel, showing the mechanism to open the panel. Opie E 67, Opie Collection of Children's Literature, Bodleian Library, Oxford University Libraries, Oxford. © Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Author's photo.

Fig. 2.22. *A Peep at the Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint. 14 x 10.8 x 45 cm (expanded). c1829. Second cut-out panel detail. Gestetner 214, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 2.23. *A Peep at the Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint and watercolour. 14 x 10.8 x 45 cm (expanded). c1829. First cut-out panel detail. Opie E 67, Opie Collection of Children's Literature, Bodleian Library, Oxford University Libraries, Oxford. © Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Author's photo.

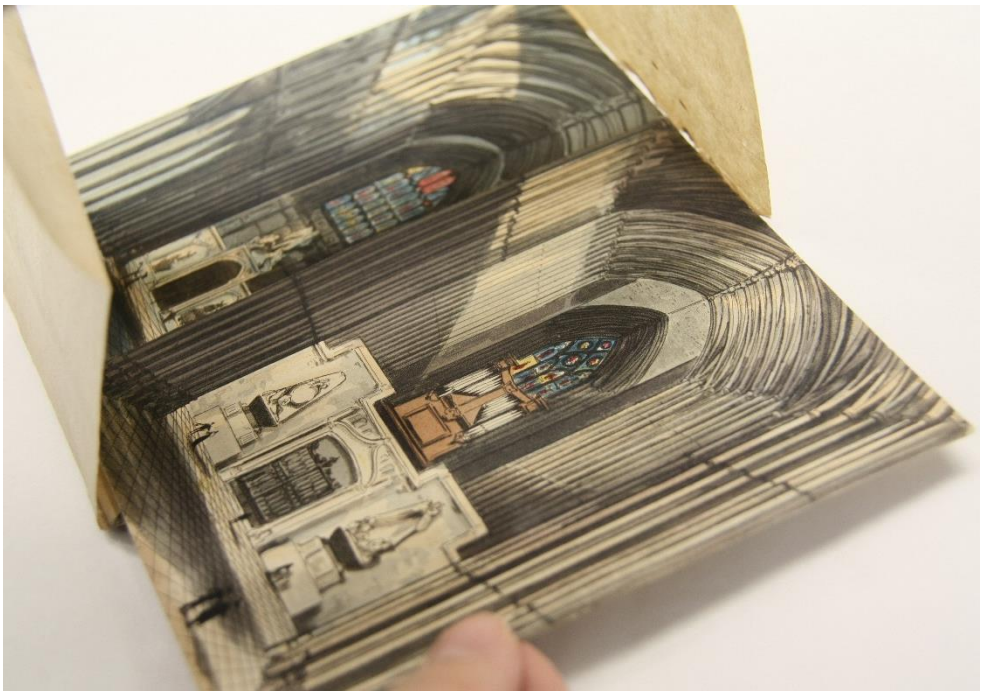


Fig. 2.24. *Pocket Panorama of the Interior of Westminster Abbey*. Published by Thomas McLean. Hand-coloured aquatint. 14 x 10.6 x 64 cm (expanded). 1828. Back-scene and removable slide. Gestetner 221, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 2.25. *A Peep at the Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint and watercolour. 14 x 10.8 x 45 cm (expanded). c1829. Third cut-out panel. Opie E 67, Opie Collection of Children's Literature, Bodleian Library, Oxford University Libraries, Oxford. © Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Author's photo.

Fig. 2.26. 'The Royal Elephant, Enabling Prince Almansor, & His Attendants, to Make Their Escape.' Plate Nine of *West's Original Juvenile Drama.* Published by W. West. Medium unknown. 24 x 19 cm. 1830. THM/234/1/24/27, Theatre and Performance Collections, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

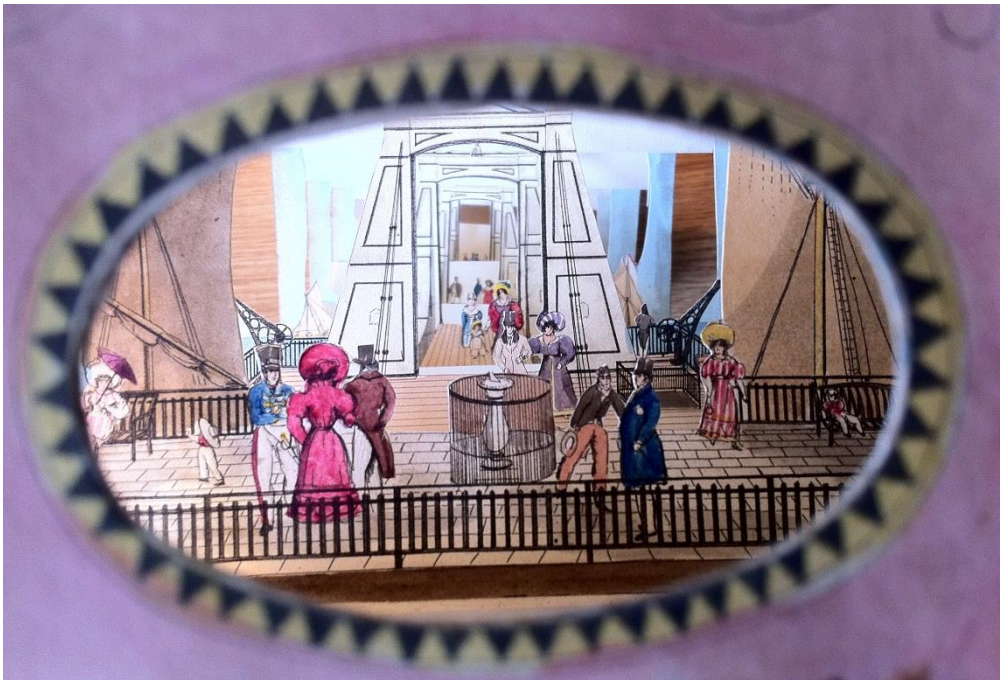


Fig. 3.1. *Interior View of Brighton Royal Chain Pier.* Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint. 11 x 14 x 54 cm (expanded). c1829. Peep-View. Gestetner 215, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 3.2. *The Cheltenhamorama, a View of the Old Well Walk.* Published by Henry Lamb. Hand-coloured lithograph. 16 x 11.7 x 68 cm (expanded). c1832. Peep-View. Gestetner 226, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 3.3. *St. Leonards on Sea, Sussex.* Anonymous. Hand-coloured lithograph. 13.6 x 16.5 x 64 cm (expanded). c1838. Peep-View. Gestetner 234, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Photography: Dennis Crompton.

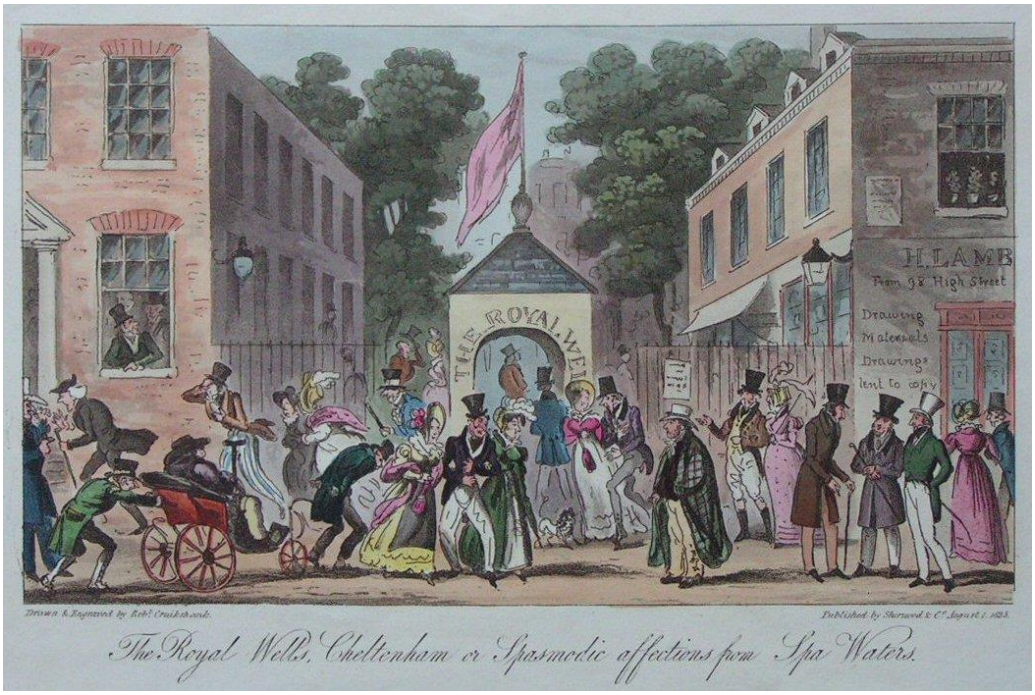


Fig. 3.4. *The Royal Wells, Cheltenham or Spasmodic Affections from Spa Waters*. Robert Cruikshank. Hand-coloured engraving. 11.3 x 19.2 cm. 1825. Illustration in Bernard Blackmantle [pseudonym of Charles Molloy Westmacott], *The English Spy* (London: Sherwood & Co., 1825), plate 24.

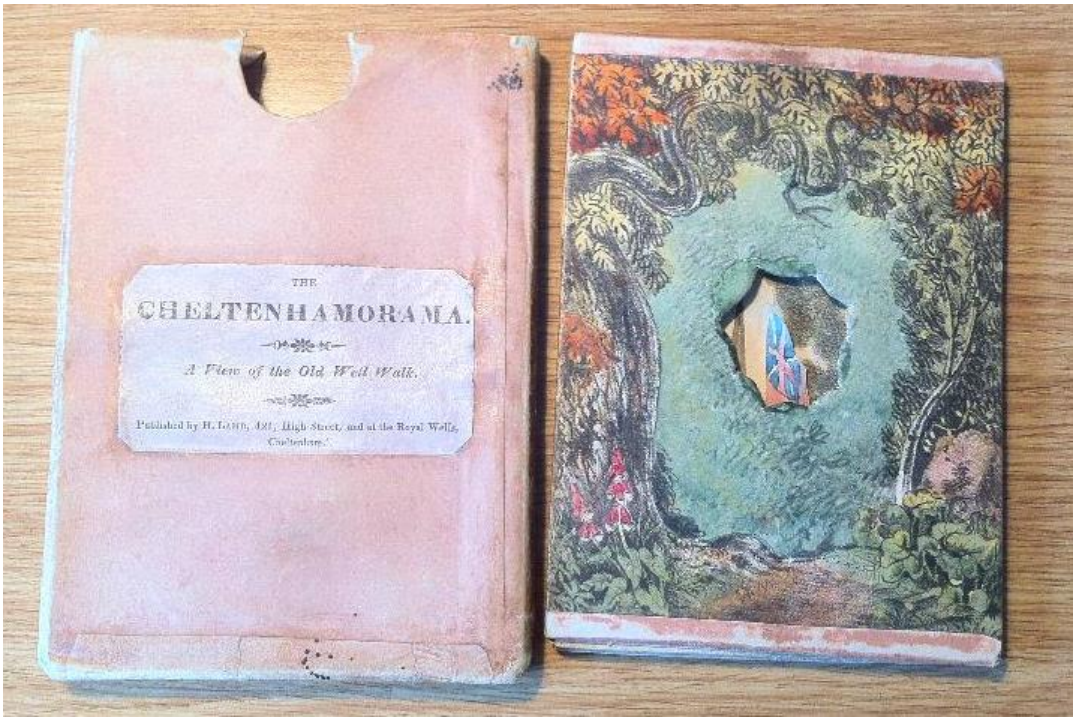


Fig. 3.5. *The Cheltenhamorama, a View of the Old Well Walk.* Published by Henry Lamb. Hand-coloured lithograph. 15 x 10.8 x 69 cm (expanded). c1832. Slipcase and Front-Face. Gestetner 227, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 3.6. *The Old Well Walk.* Henry Lamb. Hand-coloured lithograph. 23.4 x 17.9 cm. 1833. In Henry Lamb, *Views of Cheltenham and Its Vicinity* (Malvern: Royal Library; Cheltenham: Fancy Repository High Street, 1833), The Wilson Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museum, Cheltenham. © Courtesy of the Wilson Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museum, Cheltenham.

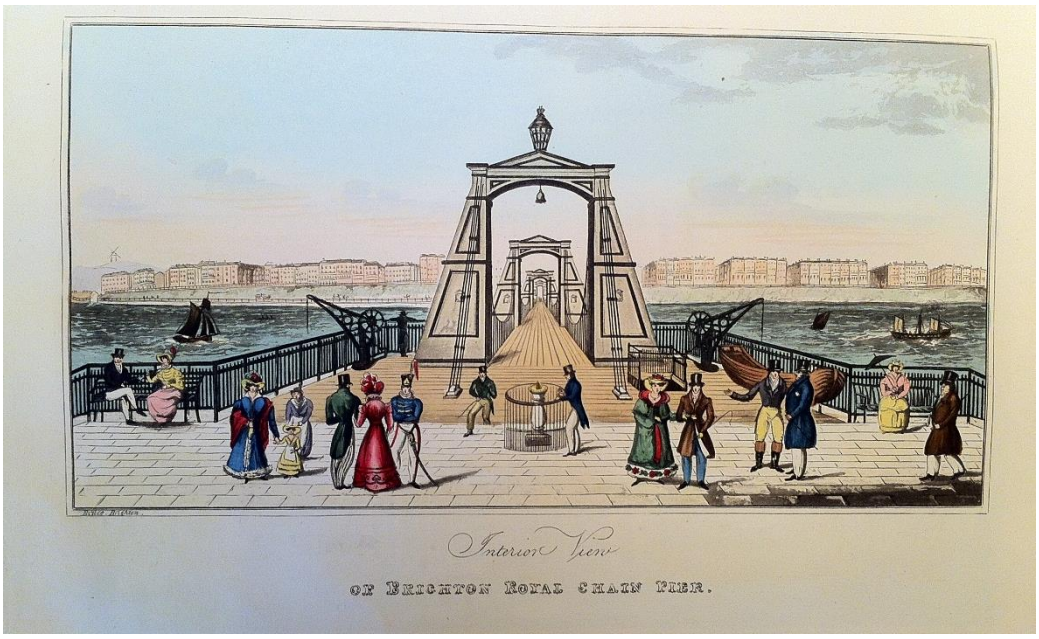


Fig. 3.7. *Interior View of the Brighton Royal Chain Pier.* John Bruce. Hand-coloured aquatint. 28 x 37 cm. 1833. In John Bruce, *Select View of Brighton* (Brighton: No. 3 Somerset Place; London: 85 Farringdon Street, 1833), Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Conn. © Courtesy of Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. Author's photo.

Fig. 3.8. *Brighton Chain Pier*. Anonymous. Medium and dimensions unknown. 1834. Illustration in John Wallis, *Brighton as It Is* (Brighton, 1834), 18.

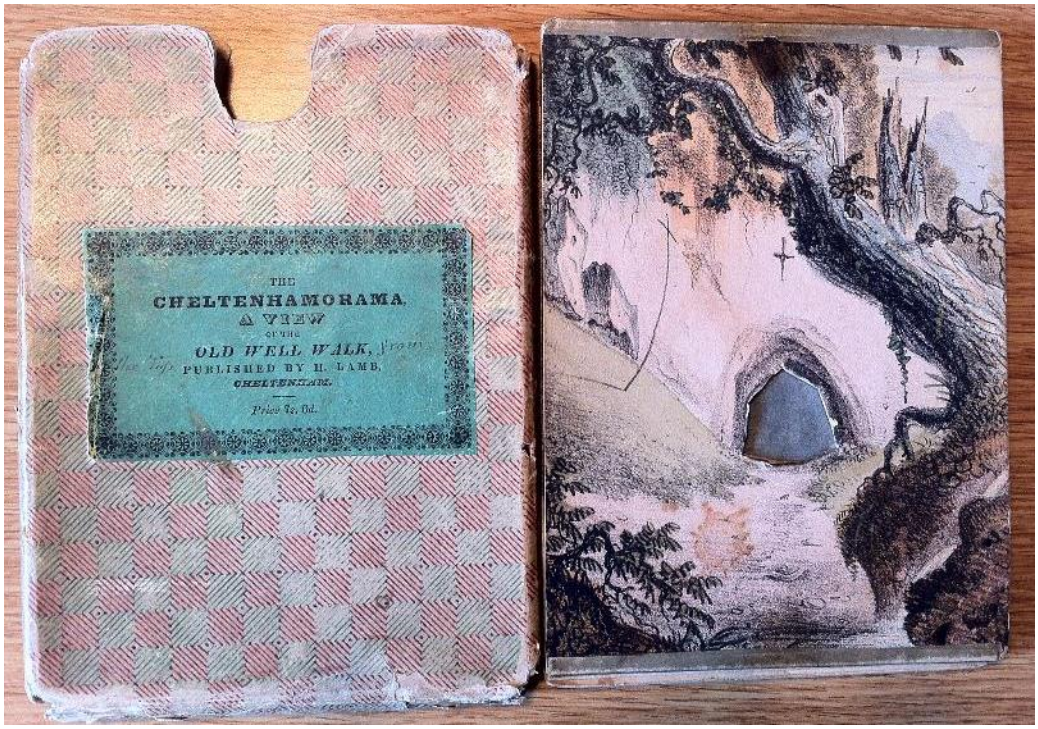


Fig. 3.9. *The Cheltenhamorama, a View of the Old Well Walk.* Published by Henry Lamb. Hand-coloured lithograph. 16 x 11.7 x 68 cm (expanded). c1832. Slipcase and Front-Face. Gestetner 226, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

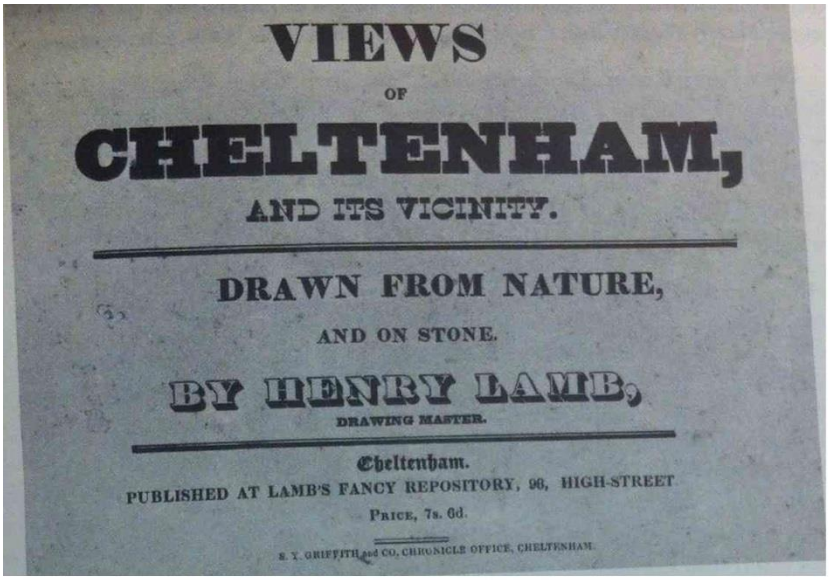


Fig. 3.10. Cover of Henry Lamb, *Views of Cheltenham and Its Vicinity* (Malvern: Royal Library; Cheltenham: Fancy Repository High Street, 1833). Medium unknown. 23.4 x 17.9 cm. 1833. The Wilson Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museum, Cheltenham. © Courtesy of the Wilson Cheltenham Art Gallery & Museum, Cheltenham.

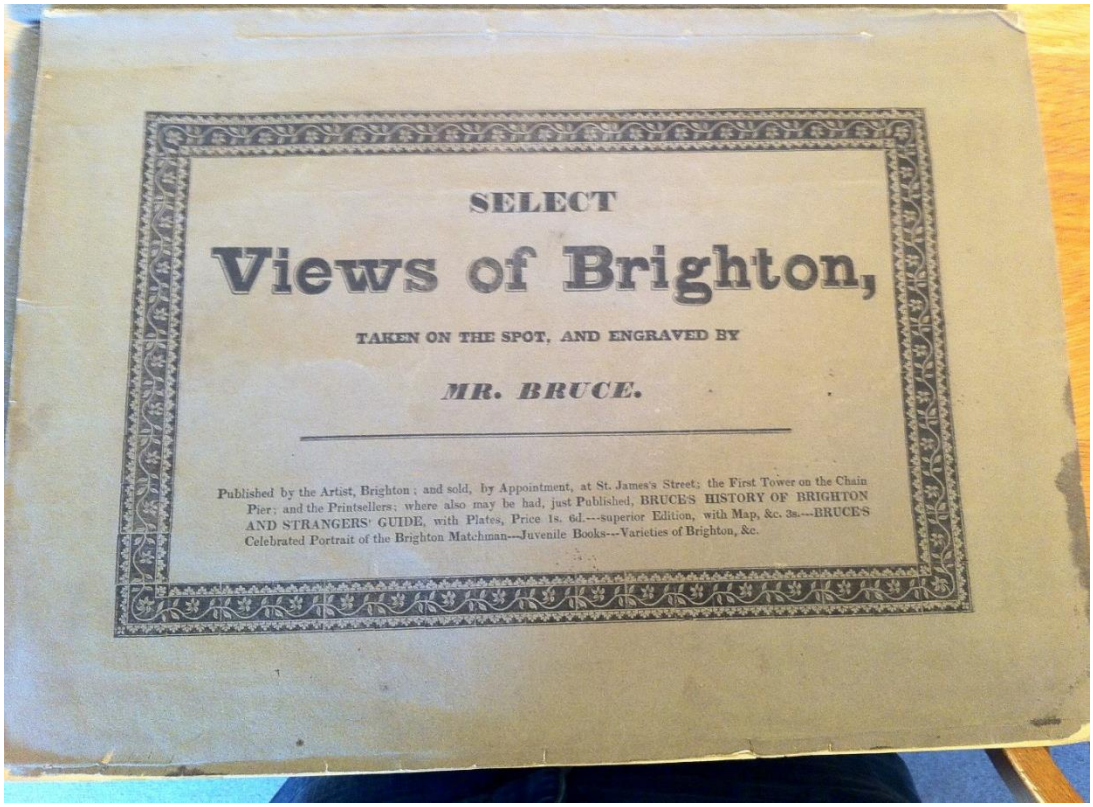


Fig. 3.11. Cover of John Bruce, *Select View of Brighton* (Brighton: No. 3 Somerset Place; London: 85 Farringdon Street, 1833). Hand-coloured aquatint. 28 x 37 cm. 1833. Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Conn. © Courtesy of Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. Author's photo.

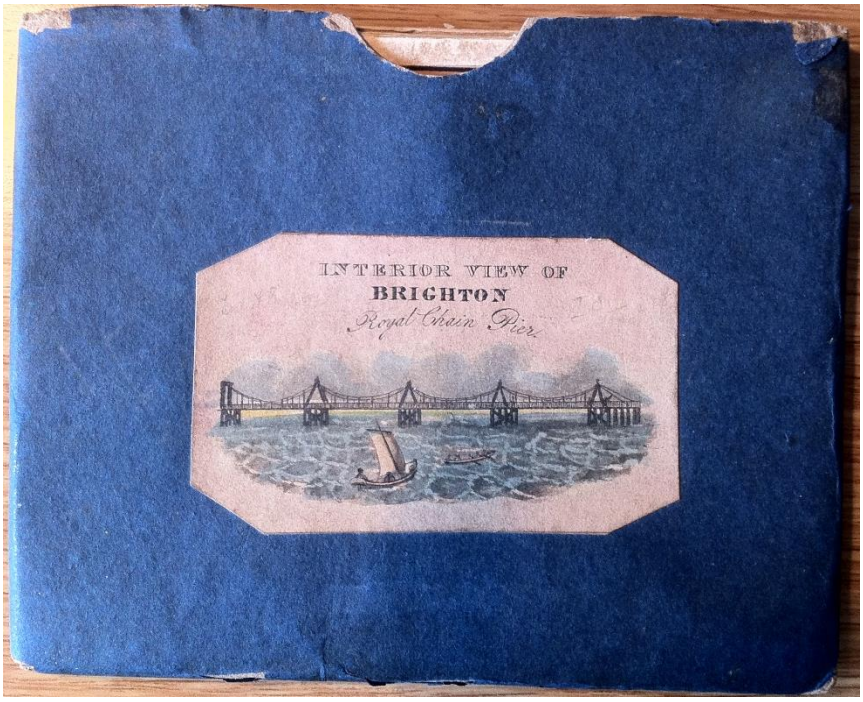


Fig. 3.12. *Interior View of Brighton Royal Chain Pier*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint. 11 x 14 x 54 cm (expanded). c1829. Slipcase. Gestetner 215, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

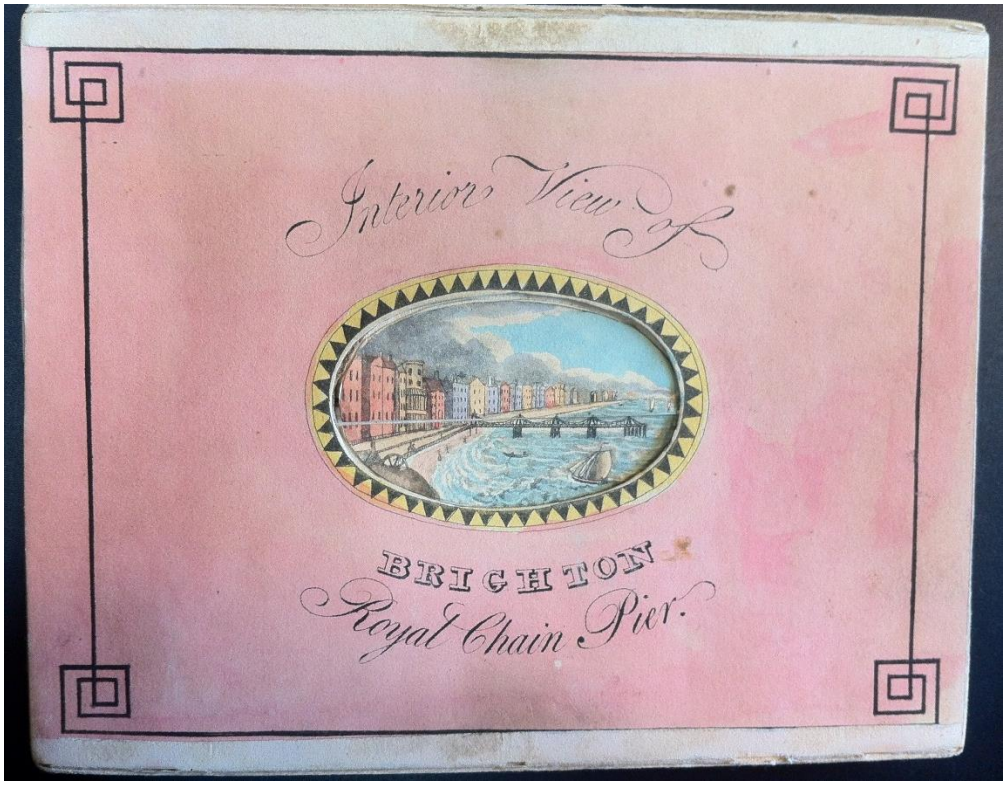


Fig. 3.13. *Interior View of Brighton Royal Chain Pier*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint. 11 x 14 x 54 cm (expanded). c1829. Front-face. Gestetner 215, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

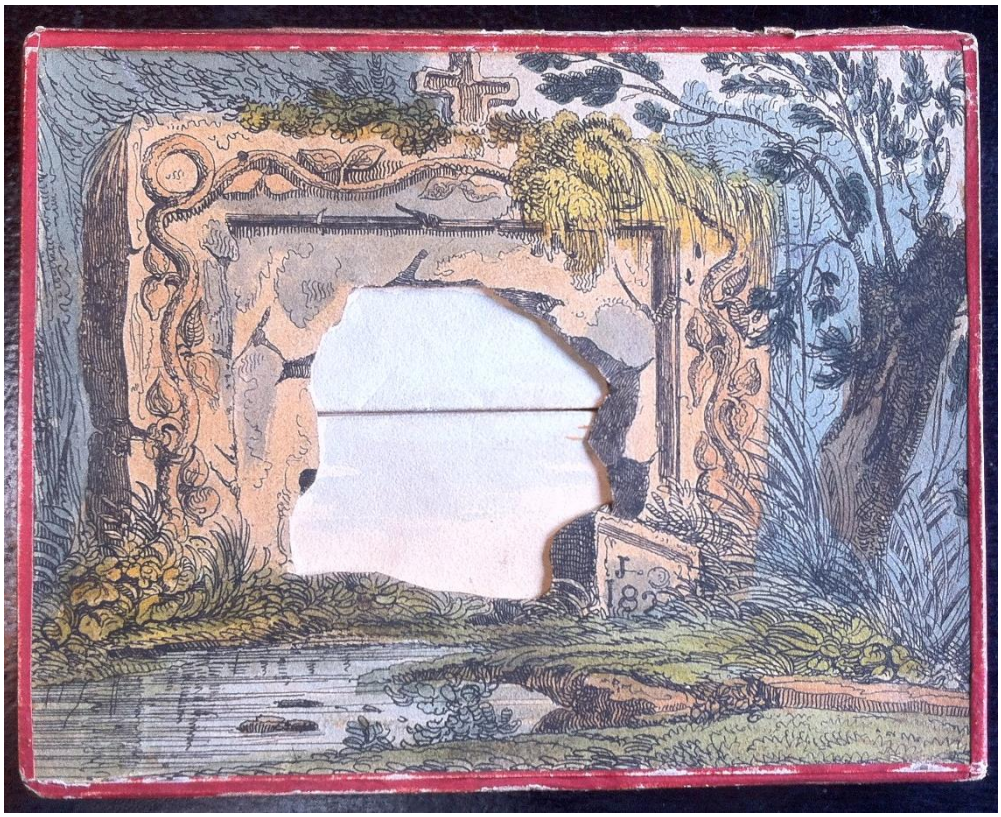


Fig. 3.14. *The Areaorama, a View in the Regent's Park.* Published by S. & J. Fuller, Hand-coloured etching. 11.2 x 14 x 68 cm (expanded). 1825. Front-face. Gestetner 193, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 3.15. *The Areaorama, a View on the Thames.* Published by S. & J. Fuller. Hand-coloured etching. 11.5 x 14 x 58 cm (expanded). c1825. Front-face. Gestetner 194, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 3.16. *Viaorama, or The Way to St. Paul's.* Published by Ingrey & Madeley. Hand-coloured lithograph. 17 x 16.1 x 29 cm (expanded). 1825. Front-Face. Gestetner 197, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 3.17. *Viaorama, or The Way to St. Paul's.* Published by Ingrey & Madeley. Hand-coloured lithograph. 17 x 16.1 x 29 cm (expanded). 1825. Peep-View. Gestetner 197, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 3.18. *St. Leonards on Sea, Sussex.* Anonymous. Hand-coloured lithograph. 13.6 x 16.5 x 64 cm (expanded). c1838. Front-Face. Gestetner 234, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 3.19. *A Peep at the Pier at Brighton.* Anonymous. Medium unknown. 11 x 15 cm (closed). c1830s. Front-Face. Opie E67a, Opie Collection of Children's Literature, Bodleian Library, Oxford University Libraries. Oxford. © Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Author's photo.

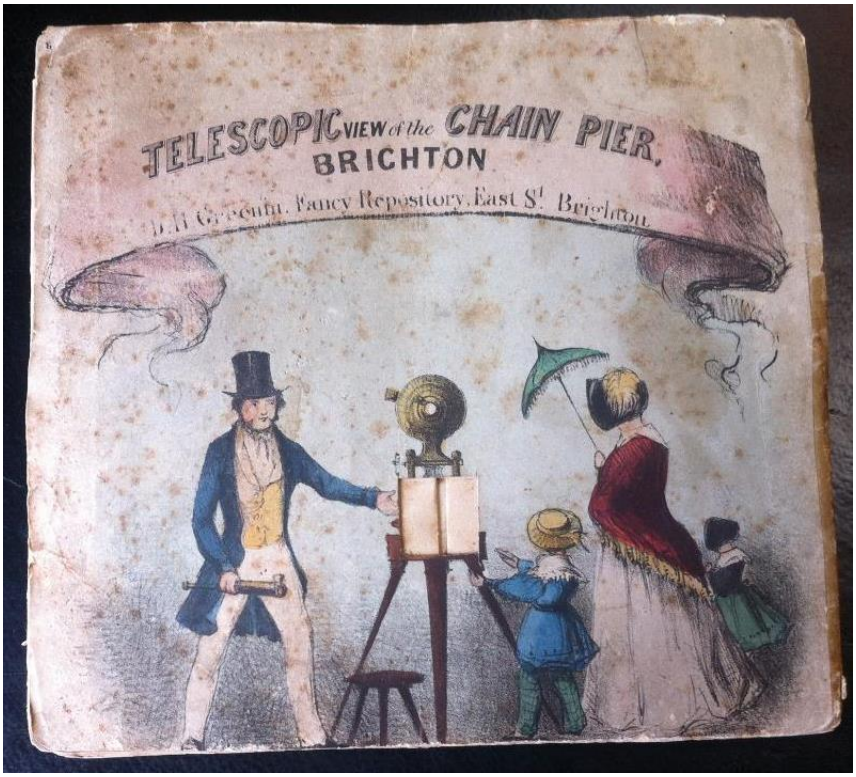


Fig. 3.20. *Telescopic View of the Chain Pier, Brighton.* Anonymous, sold by D. H. Greenin. Hand-coloured lithograph. 16.4 x 17.9 x 70 cm (expanded). c1842. Front-face. Gestetner 237, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 3.21. *Wonders of Cheltenham.* Anonymous. Watercolour drawing and muslin. 15.5 x 18.5 x 88 cm (expanded). c1828. Front-Face. Gestetner 210, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 4.1. Screenshot of Google Maps of modern London, showing Rotherhithe and Wapping in relation to central London. © Google Maps. With author's annotation.

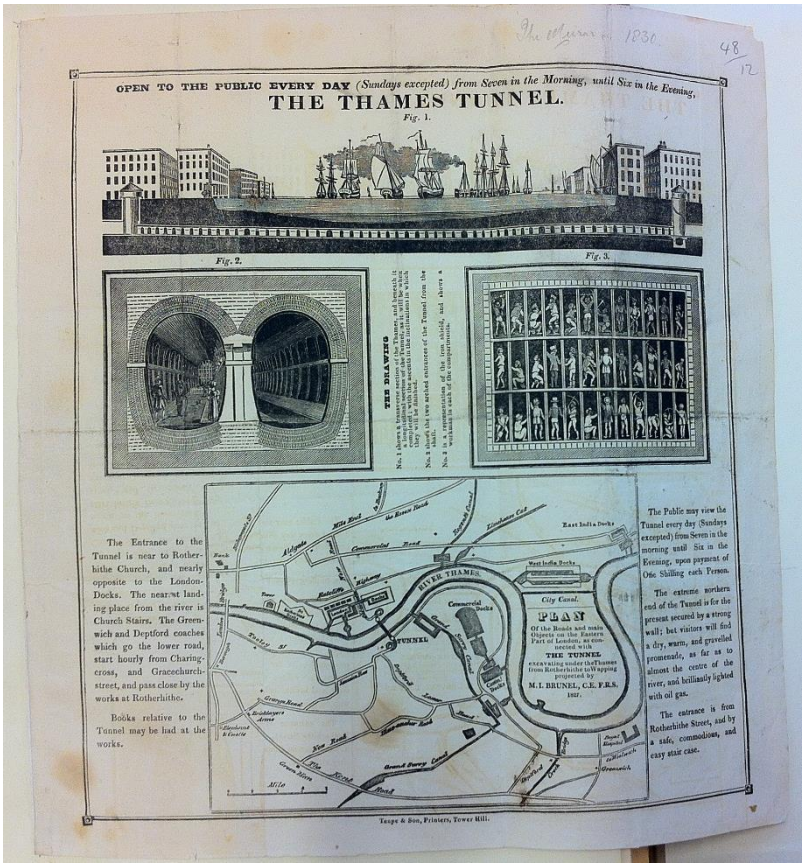
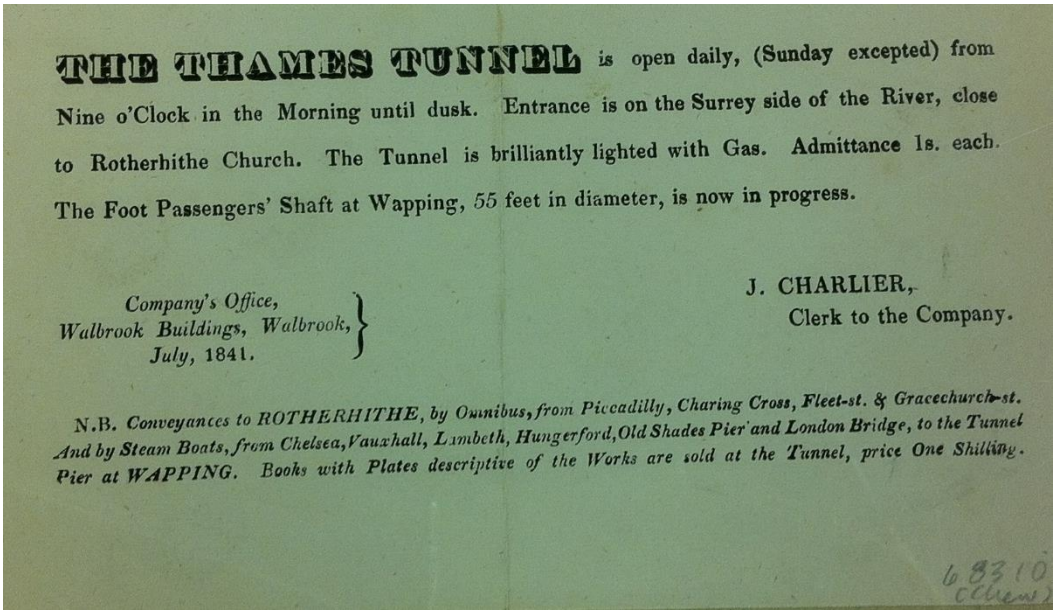


Fig. 4.2. *Thames Tunnel, Stepney* [Thames Tunnel Broadsheet]. Published by Teape & Son. Medium unknown. 29.2 x 26.7 cm. 1827. SC/GL/PR/S3/THA/ P5409946, London Metropolitan Archives, City of London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London. Author's photo.



THE THAMES TUNNEL is open daily, (Sunday excepted) from Nine o'Clock in the Morning until dusk. Entrance is on the Surrey side of the River, close to Rotherhithe Church. The Tunnel is brilliantly lighted with Gas. Admittance 1s. each. The Foot Passengers' Shaft at Wapping, 55 feet in diameter, is now in progress.

Company's Office,
Walbrook Buildings, Walbrook,
July, 1841.

J. CHARLIER,
Clerk to the Company.

N.B. *Conveyances to ROTHERHITHE, by Omnibus, from Piccadilly, Charing Cross, Fleet-st. & Gracechurch-st. And by Steam Boats, from Chelsea, Vauxhall, Lambeth, Hungerford, Old Shades Pier and London Bridge, to the Tunnel Pier at WAPPING. Books with Plates descriptive of the Works are sold at the Tunnel, price One Shilling.*

Fig. 4.3. *The Thames Tunnel is Open Daily* [Thames Tunnel Broadside]. Anonymous. Medium and dimensions unknown. 1841. No. 000123730, Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa. © Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia. Author's photo.

Fig. 4.4. *The Diving Bell Used at the Thames Tunnel after the Irruption of the Water on the 18th of May 1827. Rotherhithe Church in the Distance (Diving 18)*. Clarkson Stanfield and George Cooke. Etching. 28 x 38.2 cm. 1828. PAG8309, National Maritime Museum, London. © Courtesy of the National Maritime Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 4.5. *The Tunnel* [d]. Anonymous. Hand-coloured etching. 11.5 x 15 x 62 cm (expanded). c1825. Peep-view. Gestetner 200, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 4.6. *Thames Tunnel* [c]. Anonymous. Hand-coloured aquatint and steel engraving. 12 x 14.5 x 23.5 cm (expanded). c1835. Peep-view. Gestetner 230, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 4.7. *Der Tunnel oder der Gang unter der Temse in London; Perpectivisch Dargestellt*. Published by G. N. Renner. Hand-coloured etching. 11.6 x 14 x 60 cm (expanded). c1834. Back-scene. Gestetner 94, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 4.8. *Der Tunnel oder der Gang unter der Temse in London; Perpectivisch Dargestellt*. Published by G. N. Renner. Hand-coloured etching. 11.6 x 14 x 60 cm (expanded). c1834. Peep-view. Gestetner 94, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

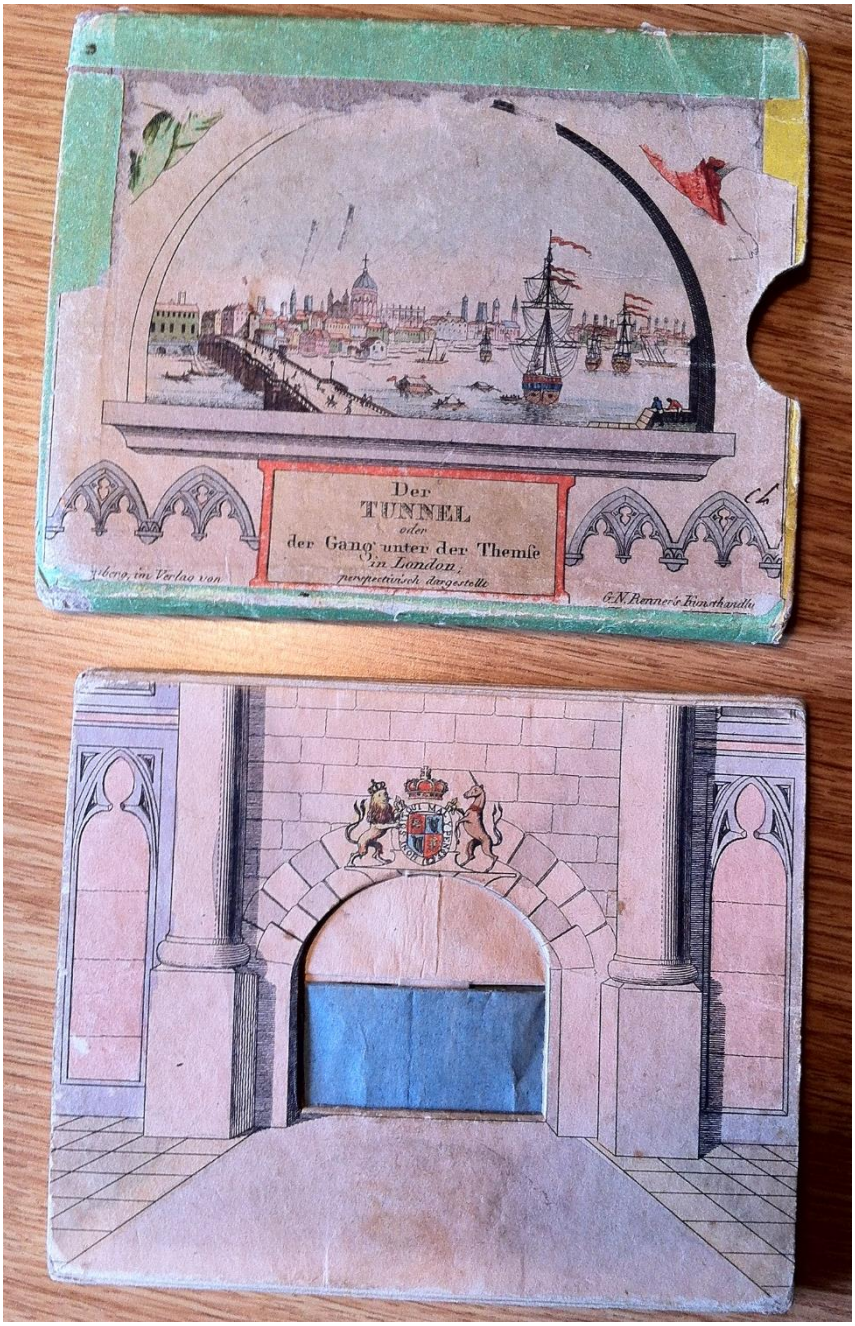


Fig. 4.9. *Der Tunnel oder der Gang unter der Temse in London; Perpectivisch Dargestellt*. Published by G. N. Renner. Hand-coloured etching. 11.6 x 14 x 60 cm (expanded). c1834. Slipcase (upper) and Front-face (lower). Gestetner 94, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

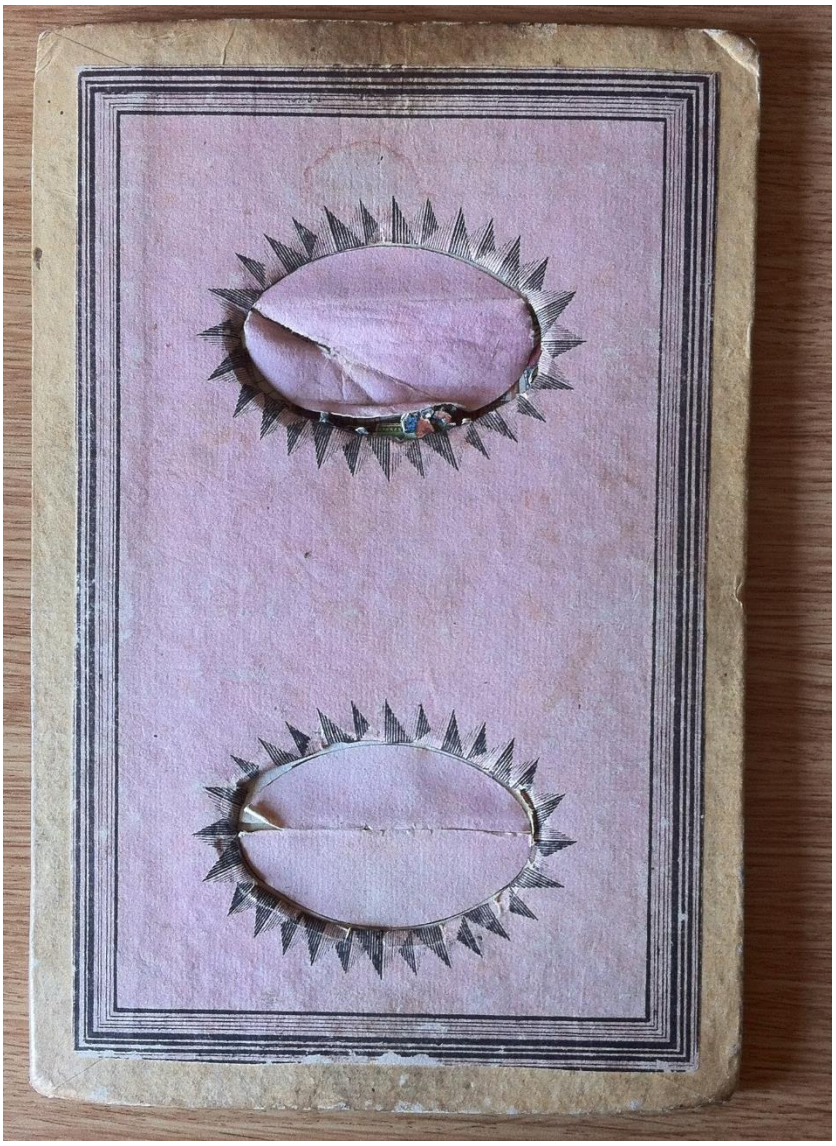


Fig. 4.10. *Perspectivische Ansicht des Tunnel unter der Themse / Vue perspective du Tunnel sous la Tamise*. Published by JMB. Hand-coloured etching. 23 x 15.2 x 60 cm (expanded). c1835. Front-face. Gestetner 118, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 4.11. *Perspectivische Ansicht des Tunnel unter der Themse / Vue perspective du Tunnel sous la Tamise*. Published by JMB. Hand-coloured etching. 23 x 15.2 x 60 cm (expanded). c1835. Peep-view (lower level). Gestetner 118, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 4.12. *Perspectivische Ansicht des Tunnel unter der Themse / Vue perspective du Tunnel sous la Tamise*. Published by JMB. Hand-coloured etching. 23 x 15.2 x 60 cm (expanded). c1835. Peep-view (upper level). Gestetner 118, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

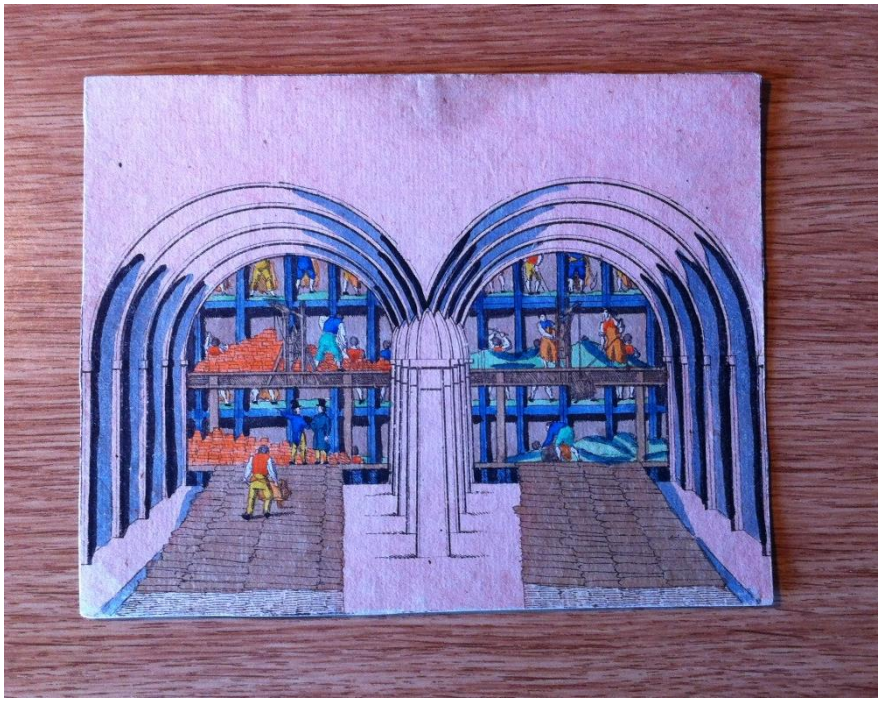


Fig. 4.13. *Perspectivische Ansicht des Tunnel unter der Themse von Rotherhithe nach Wapping London*. Published by JMB. Hand-coloured line engraving 14.4 x 17.8 x 83 cm (expanded). c1835. Removable back-slide. Gestetner 119, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 4.14. *The Bridge over Chaos*. John Martin. Mezzonint. Dimensions unknown. 1827. Illustration in John Milton, *The Paradise Lost of Milton, with Illustrations Designed and Engraved by John Martin* (London: S. Prowett, 1827), Book 10, II. 312 and 347.

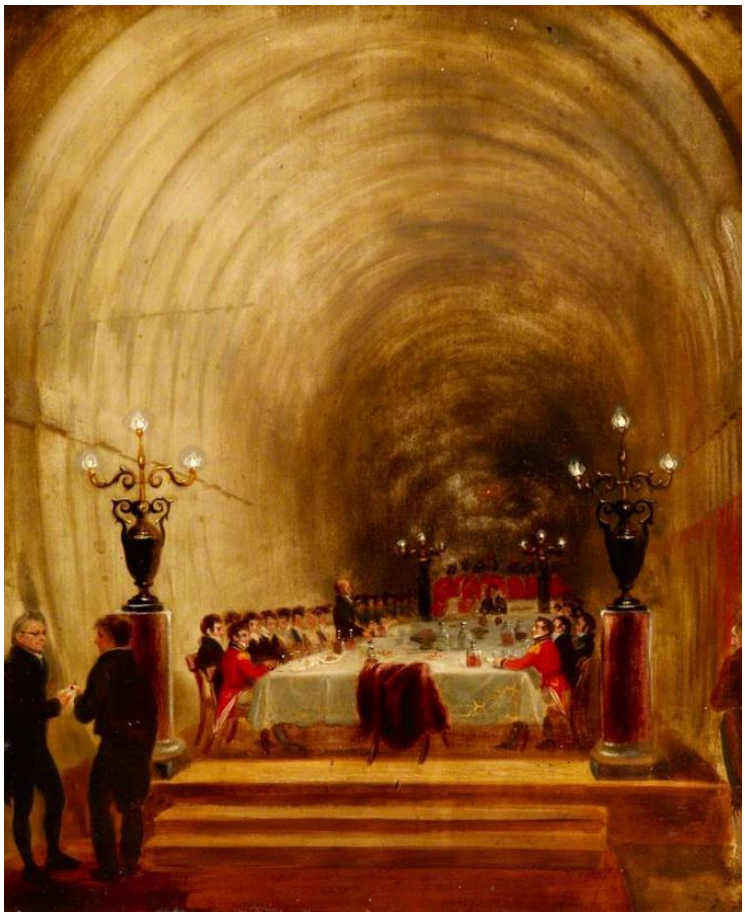


Fig. 4.15. *Banquet in the Thames Tunnel*. Attributed to George Jones. Oil on board. 37.5 x 32. 5 cm. c1827. Ironbridge Gorge Museum, Telford. © Courtesy of the Ironbridge Gorge Museum, Telford.

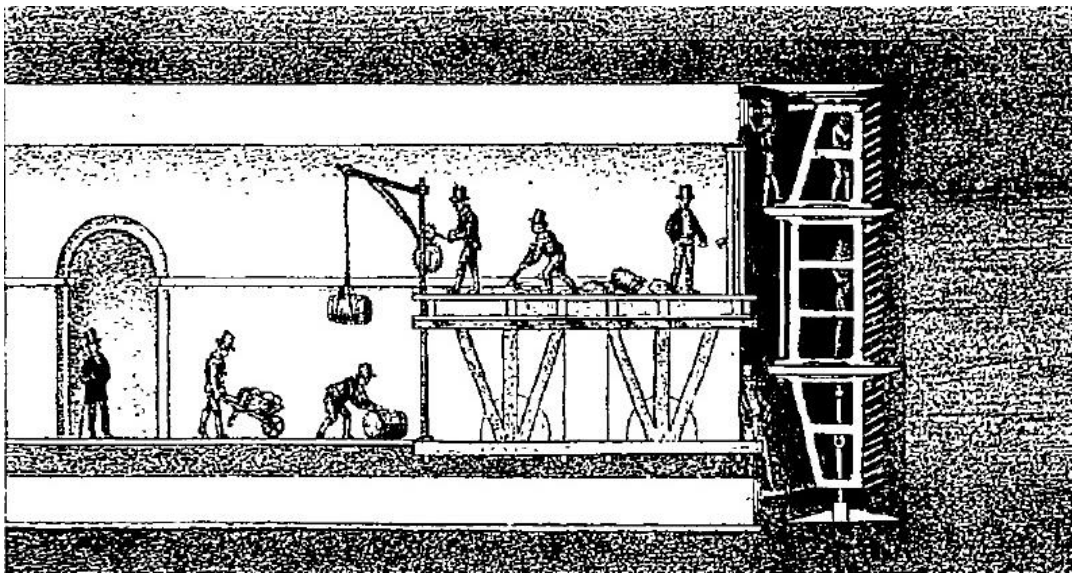


Fig. 4.16. *The Origin, Progress, and Present State of the Thames Tunnel; and the Advantages Likely to Accrue from It, Both to the Proprietors and to the Public*, 4th ed. (London: Effingham Wilson, 1827), Plate 3. Anonymous. Engraving. Dimensions unknown.

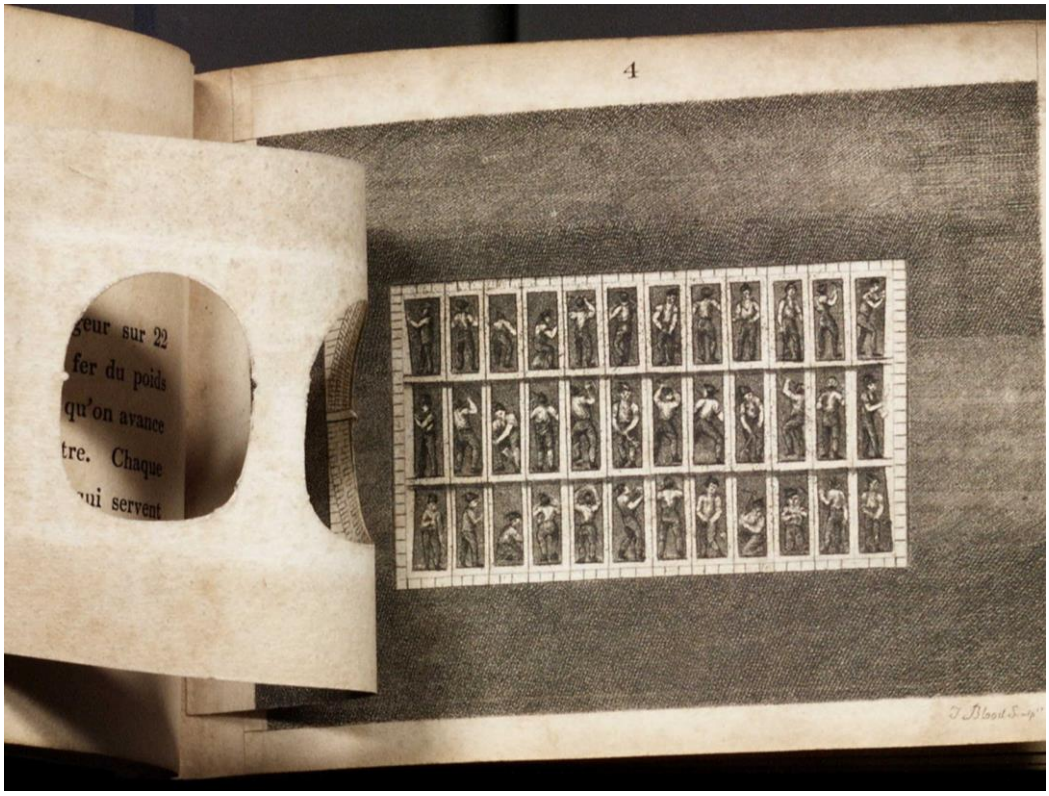


Fig. 4.17. *Sketches of the Works for the Tunnel under the Thames from Rotherhithe to Wapping* (London: Harvey and Darton, 55 Gracechurth Street; C. Tilt, St. Bride's Avenue, 86 Fleet Street; Printed by the Philanthropic Society, St. George's Field, 1829), Plate 4. Anonymous. Engraving. Dimensions unknown. With the movable element open.

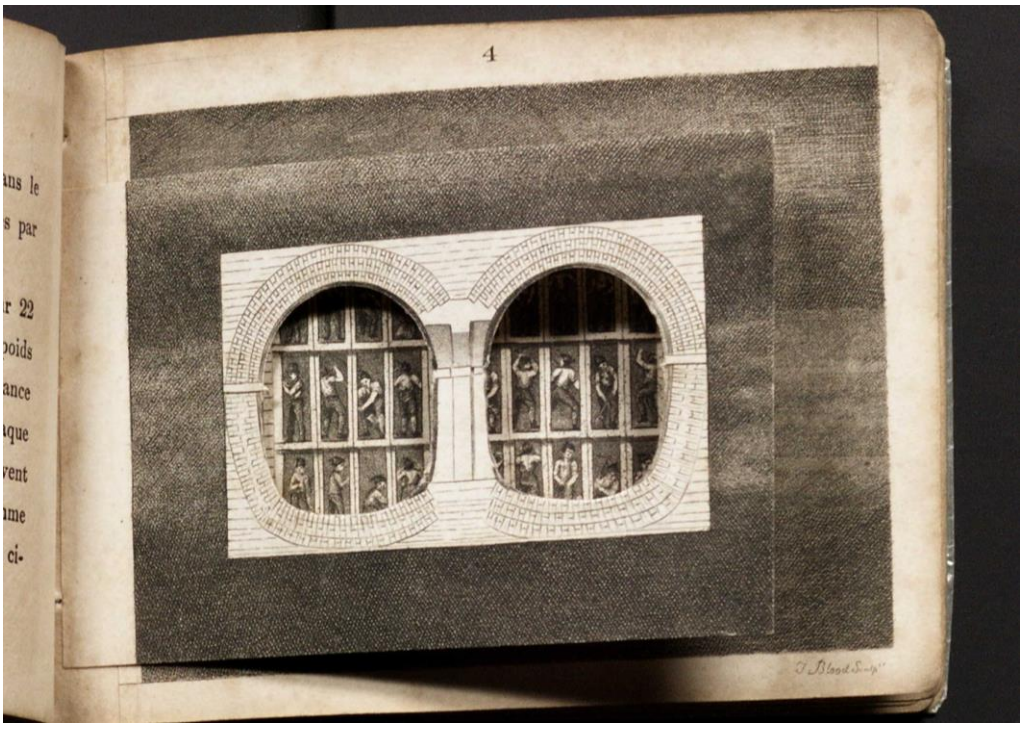


Fig. 4.18. *Sketches of the Works for the Tunnel under the Thames from Rotherhithe to Wapping* (London: Harvey and Darton, 55 Gracechurth Street; C. Tilt, St. Bride's Avenue, 86 Fleet Street; Printed by the Philanthropic Society, St. George's Field, 1829), Plate 4. Anonymous. Engraving. Dimensions unknown. With the movable element closed.

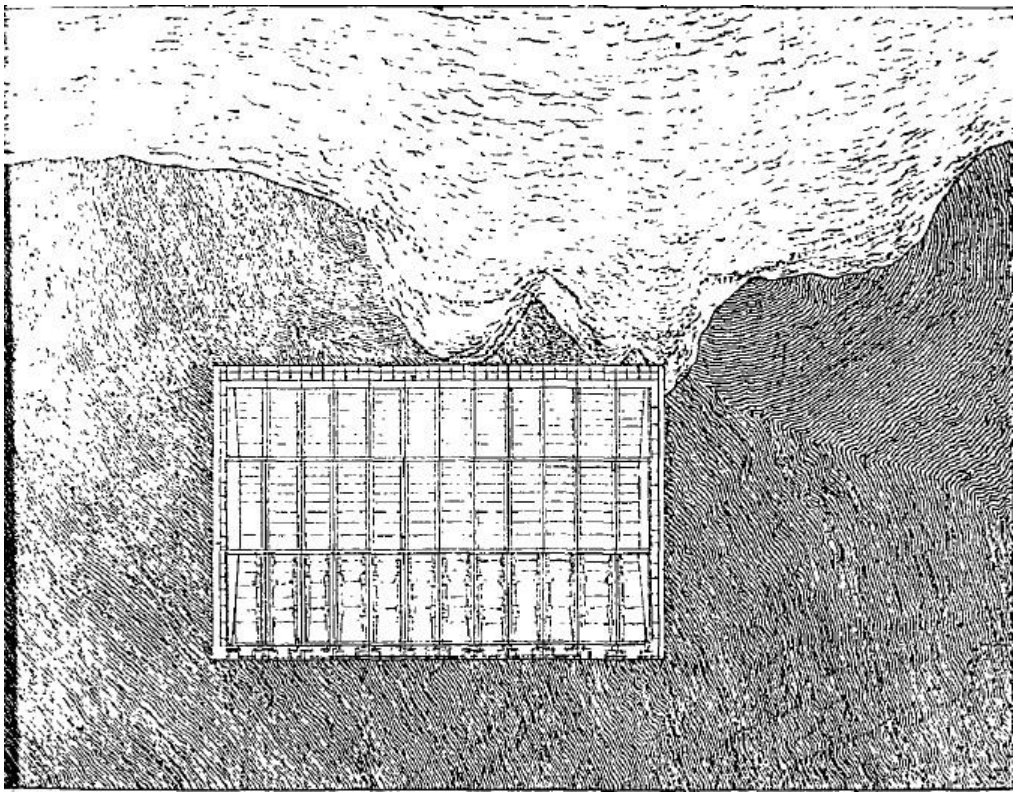


Fig. 4.19. *Sketches of the Works for the Tunnel under the Thames from Rotherhithe to Wapping* (London: Harvey and Darton, 55 Gracechurth Street; C. Tilt, St. Bride's Avenue, 86 Fleet Street; Printed by the Philanthropic Society, St. George's Field, 1829), Plate 8. Anonymous. Engraving. Dimensions unknown.

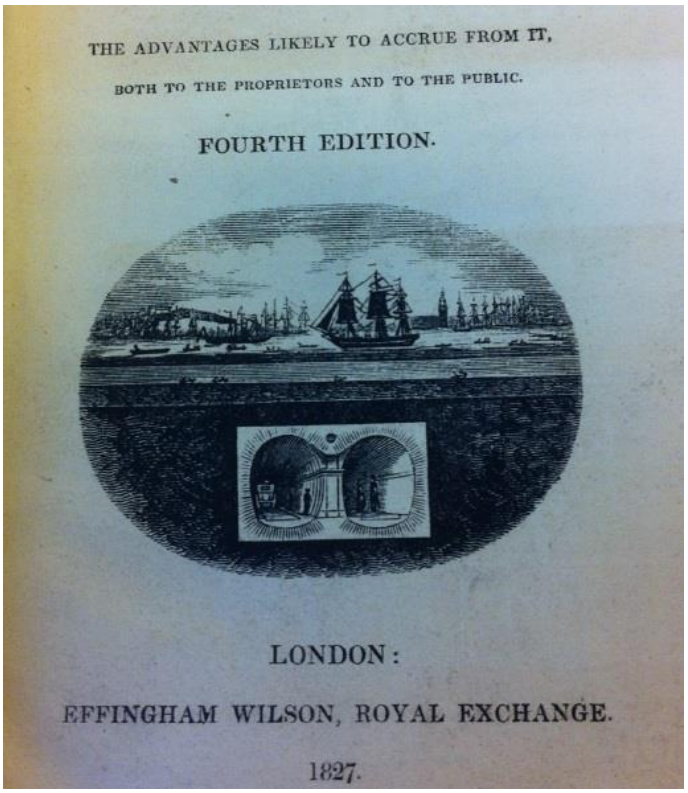


Fig. 4.20. *The Origin, Progress, and Present State of the Thames Tunnel; and the Advantages Likely to Accrue from It, Both to the Proprietors and to the Public*, 4th ed. (London: Effingham Wilson, 1827), Frontispiece. Anonymous. Lithograph. Dimensions unknown. Author's photo.

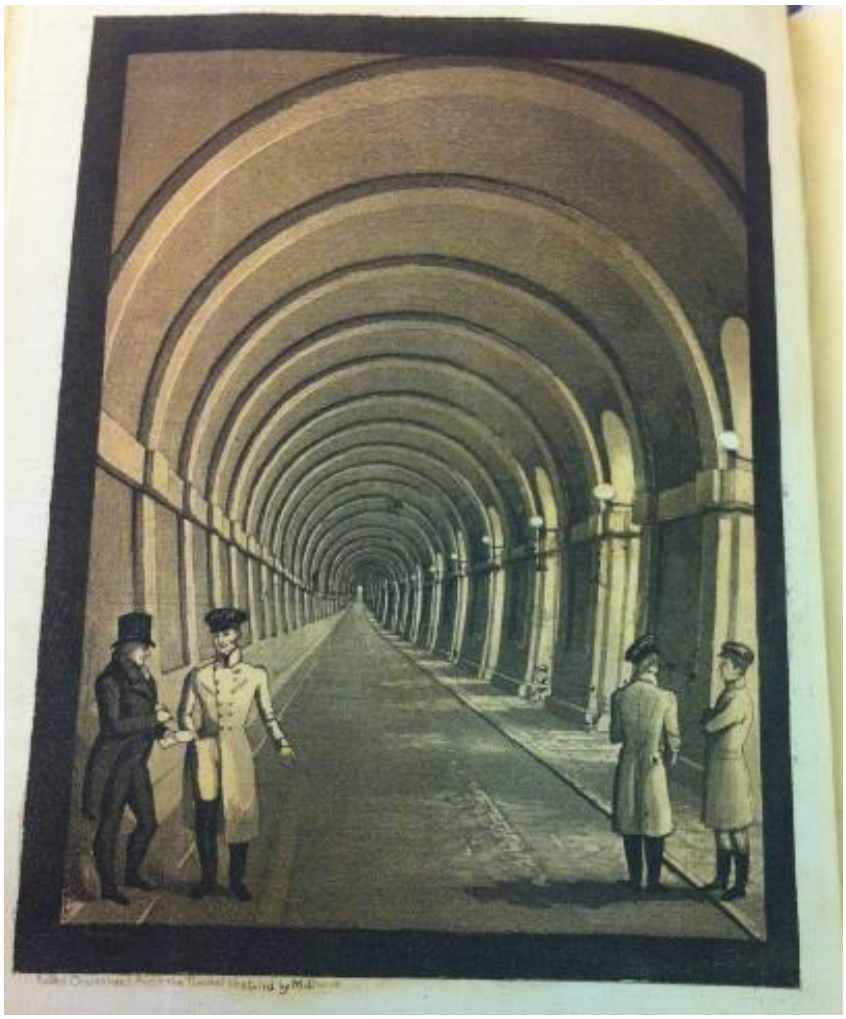


Fig. 4.21. *Sketches of the Works for the Tunnel under the Thames from Rotherhithe to Wapping* (London: Harvey and Darton, 55 Gracechurth Street; C. Tilt, St. Bride's Avenue, 86 Fleet Street; Printed by the Philanthropic Society, St. George's Field, 1829), Plate 1. Robert Cruikshank and M. Dixie. Engraving. Dimensions unknown. Author's photo.

Fig. 4.22. *A View of the Tunnel under the Thames, as It Will Appear when Completed* [b]. Published by S.F. Gouyn. Hand-coloured aquatint. 11.5 x 14.5 x 62 cm (expanded). 1828. Slipcase (lower) and Front-face (upper). Gestetner 208. Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 4.23. *A View of the Tunnel under the Thames, as It Will Appear when Completed* [b]. Published by S.F. Gouyn. Hand-coloured aquatint. 11.5 x 14.5 x 62 cm (expanded). 1828. Peep-view. Gestetner 208. Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

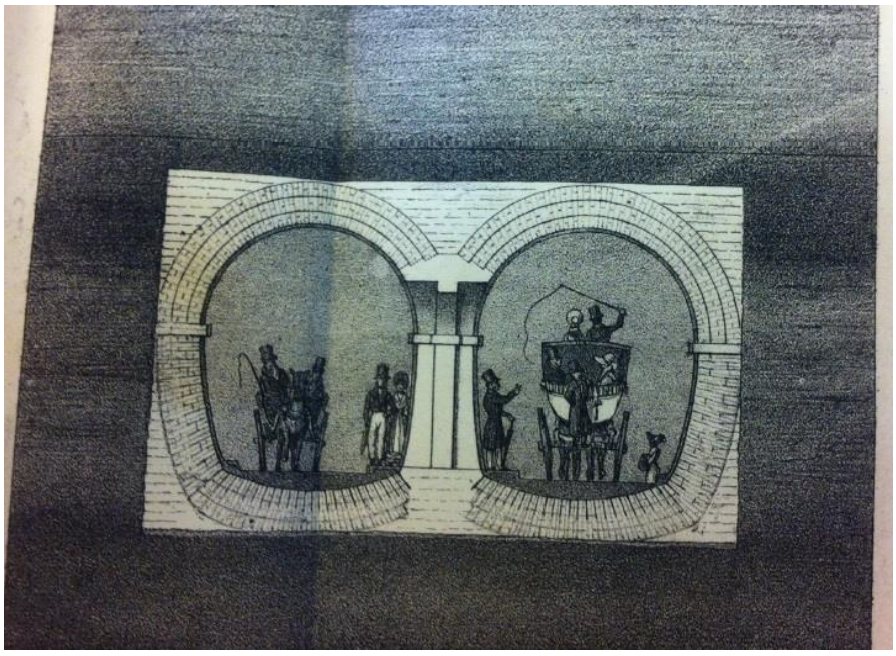


Fig. 4.24. *The Origin, Progress, and Present State of the Thames Tunnel; and the Advantages Likely to Accrue from It, Both to the Proprietors and to the Public*, 4th ed. (London: Effingham Wilson, 1827), Plate 2. Anonymous. Lithograph. Dimensions unknown. Author's photo.

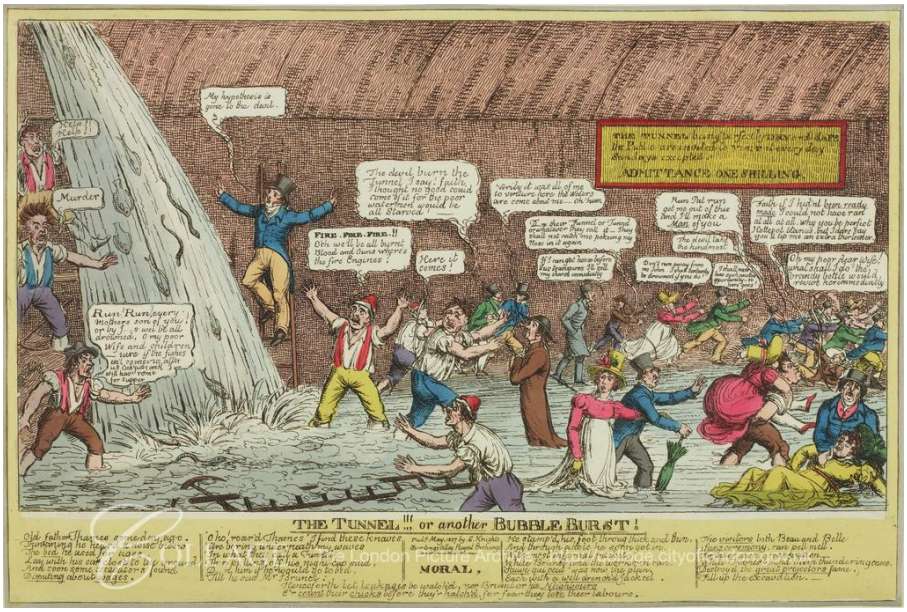


Fig. 4.25. *THE TUNNEL !!! or another BUBBLE BURST!*. C. Williams. Etching. 37 x 25 cm. 1827. SC/GL/SAT/023/1827/p5432075, London Metropolitan Archives, City of London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London (Collage, the London Picture Archive, ref 18094).

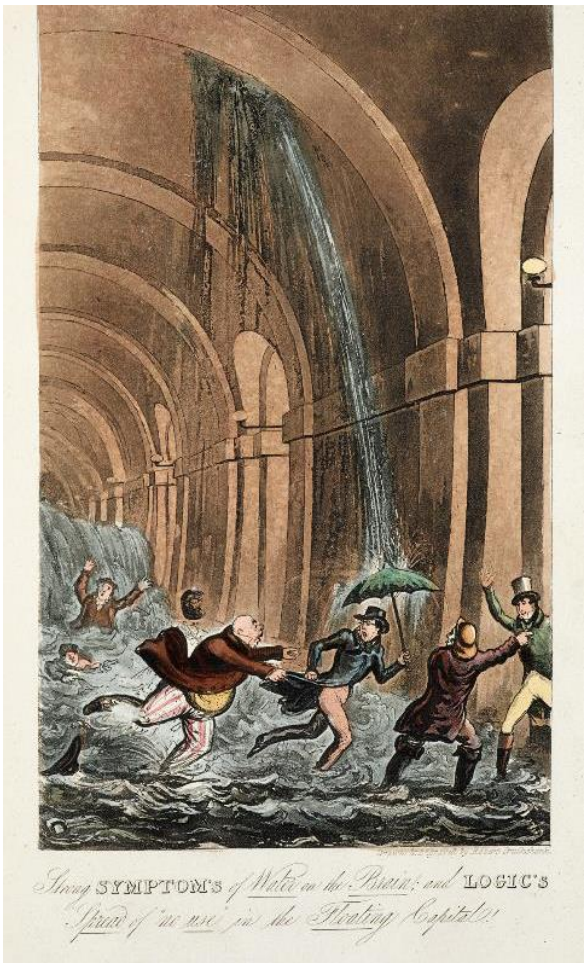


Fig. 4.26. *Strong symptoms of water on the brain; and Logic's spread of 'no use' in the floating capital*. Robert Cruikshank. Medium and dimensions unknown. 1830. Illustration in Pierce Egan, *Finish to the Adventures of Tom, Jerry and Logic: In their Pursuits through Life in and out of London* (London: Printed by C. Baynes . . . for G. Virtue, 1830), 125.

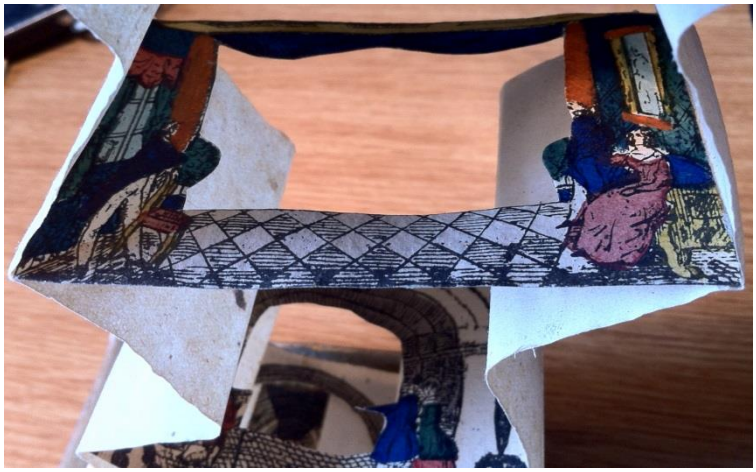
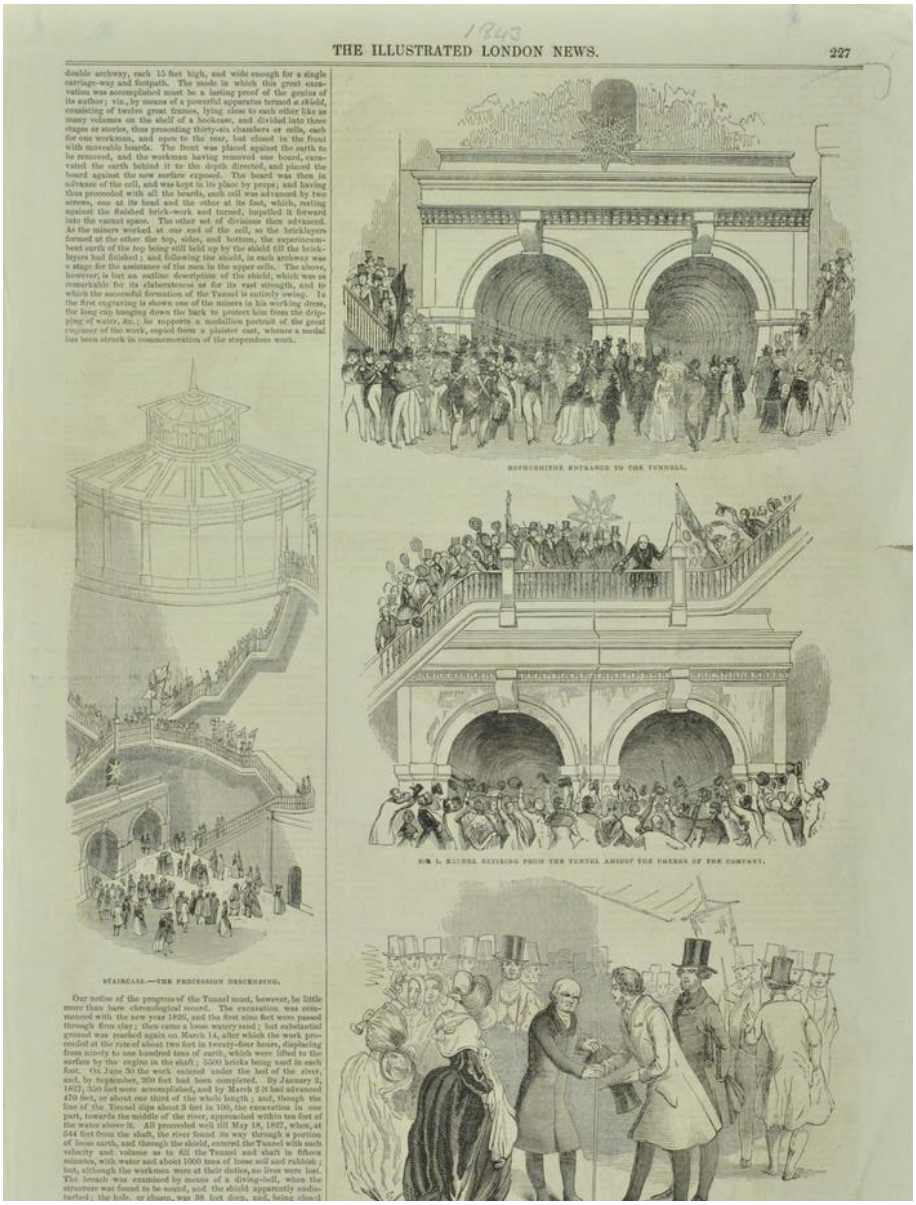


Fig. 4.27. *The Thames Tunnel*. Anonymous. Medium and dimensions unknown. pre-1843. Peep-view. 2016011, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.


THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS. 227

double archway, each 15 feet high, and wide enough for a single carriage-way and footpath. The mode in which this great excavation was accomplished must be a lasting proof of the genius of its author; viz., by means of a powerful apparatus termed *a shield*, consisting of twelve great frames, lying close to each other like so many volumes on the shelf of a bookcase, and divided into three stages or stories, thus presenting thirty-six chambers or cells, each for one workman, and open to the rear, but closed in the front with moveable boards. The front was placed against the earth to be removed, and the workman having removed one board, excavated the earth behind it to the depth directed, and placed the board against the new surface exposed. The board was then in advance of the cell, and was kept in its place by props; and having thus proceeded with all the boards, each cell was advanced by two screws, one at its head and the other at its foot, which, resting against the finished brick-work and turned, impelled it forward into the vacant space. The other set of divisions then advanced. As the miners worked at one end of the cell, so the bricklayers formed at the other the top, sides, and bottom, the superincumbent earth of the top being still held up by the shield till the bricklayers had finished; and following the shield, in each archway was a stage for the assistance of the men in the upper cells. The above, however, is but an outline description of the shield, which was as remarkable for its elaborateness as for its vast strength, and to which the successful formation of the Tunnel is entirely owing. In the first engraving is shown one of the miners in his working dress, the long cap hanging down the back to protect him from the dripping of water, &c.; he supports a medallion portrait of the great engineer of the work, copied from a plaister cast, whence a medal has been struck in commemoration of the stupendous work.

STAIRCASE.—THE PROCESSION DESCENDING.

Our notice of the progress of the Tunnel must, however, be little more than bare chronological record. The excavation was commenced with the new year 1826, and the first nine feet were passed through firm clay; then came a loose watery sand; but substantial ground was reached again on March 14, after which the work proceeded at the rate of about two feet in twenty-four hours, displacing from ninety to one hundred tons of earth, which were lifted to the surface by the engine in the shaft; 5500 bricks being used in each foot. On June 30 the work entered under the bed of the river, and, by September, 200 feet had been completed. By January 2, 1827, 350 feet were accomplished, and by March 2 it had advanced 470 feet, or about one third of the whole length; and, though the line of the Tunnel dips about 3 feet in 100, the excavation in one part, towards the middle of the river, approached within ten feet of the water above it. All proceeded well till May 18, 1827, when, at 544 feet from the shaft, the river found its way through a portion of loose earth, and through the shield, entered the Tunnel with such velocity and volume as to fill the Tunnel and shaft in fifteen minutes, with water and about 1000 tons of loose soil and rubbish; but, although the workmen were at their duties, no lives were lost. The breach was examined by means of a diving-bell, when the structure was found to be sound, and the shield apparently undisturbed: the hole, or chasm, was 98 feet deep, and, being closed

Fig. 4.28. Detail of 'The Thames Tunnel,' *Illustrated London News* 2, no. 47, 25 March 1843, 227. The *Illustrated London News* Historical Archive, 1842-2003, Gale Primary Sources.

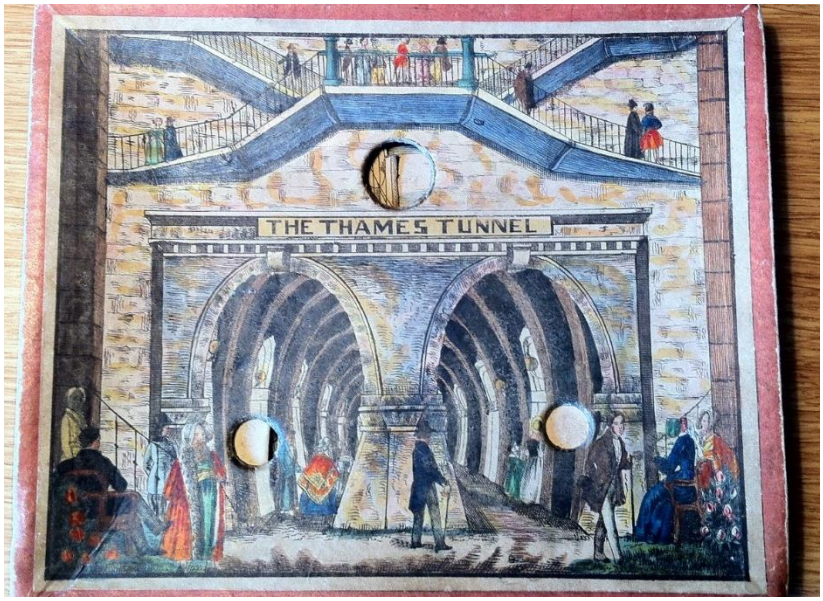
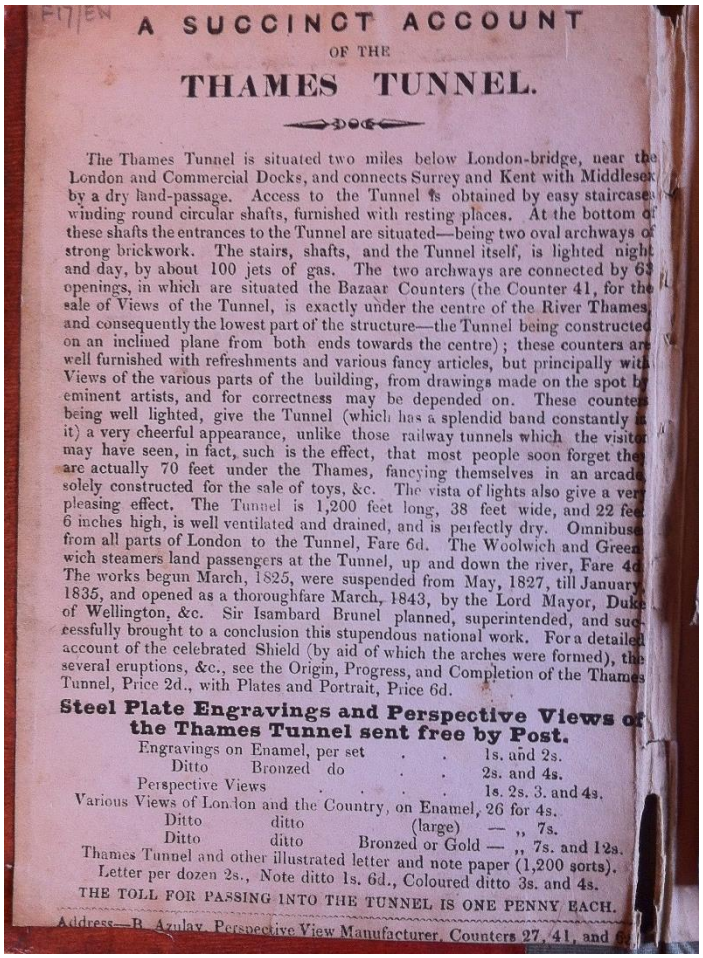


Fig. 4.29. *The Thames Tunnel*. Anonymous. Medium and dimensions unknown. Front-face. post-1843. 2014108, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.



A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT

OF THE

THAMES TUNNEL.

The Thames Tunnel is situated two miles below London-bridge, near the London and Commercial Docks, and connects Surrey and Kent with Middlesex by a dry land-passage. Access to the Tunnel is obtained by easy staircases winding round circular shafts, furnished with resting places. At the bottom of these shafts the entrances to the Tunnel are situated—being two oval archways of strong brickwork. The stairs, shafts, and the Tunnel itself, is lighted night and day, by about 100 jets of gas. The two archways are connected by 63 openings, in which are situated the Bazaar Counters (the Counter 41, for the sale of Views of the Tunnel, is exactly under the centre of the River Thames, and consequently the lowest part of the structure—the Tunnel being constructed on an inclined plane from both ends towards the centre); these counters are well furnished with refreshments and various fancy articles, but principally with Views of the various parts of the building, from drawings made on the spot by eminent artists, and for correctness may be depended on. These counters being well lighted, give the Tunnel (which has a splendid band constantly in it) a very cheerful appearance, unlike those railway tunnels which the visitor may have seen, in fact, such is the effect, that most people soon forget they are actually 70 feet under the Thames, fancying themselves in an arcade solely constructed for the sale of toys, &c. The vista of lights also give a very pleasing effect. The Tunnel is 1,200 feet long, 38 feet wide, and 22 feet 6 inches high, is well ventilated and drained, and is perfectly dry. Omnibuses from all parts of London to the Tunnel, Fare 6d. The Woolwich and Greenwich steamers land passengers at the Tunnel, up and down the river, Fare 4d. The works begun March, 1825, were suspended from May, 1827, till January, 1835, and opened as a thoroughfare March, 1843, by the Lord Mayor, Duke of Wellington, &c. Sir Isambard Brunel planned, superintended, and successfully brought to a conclusion this stupendous national work. For a detailed account of the celebrated Shield (by aid of which the arches were formed), the several eruptions, &c., see the Origin, Progress, and Completion of the Thames Tunnel, Price 2d., with Plates and Portrait, Price 6d.

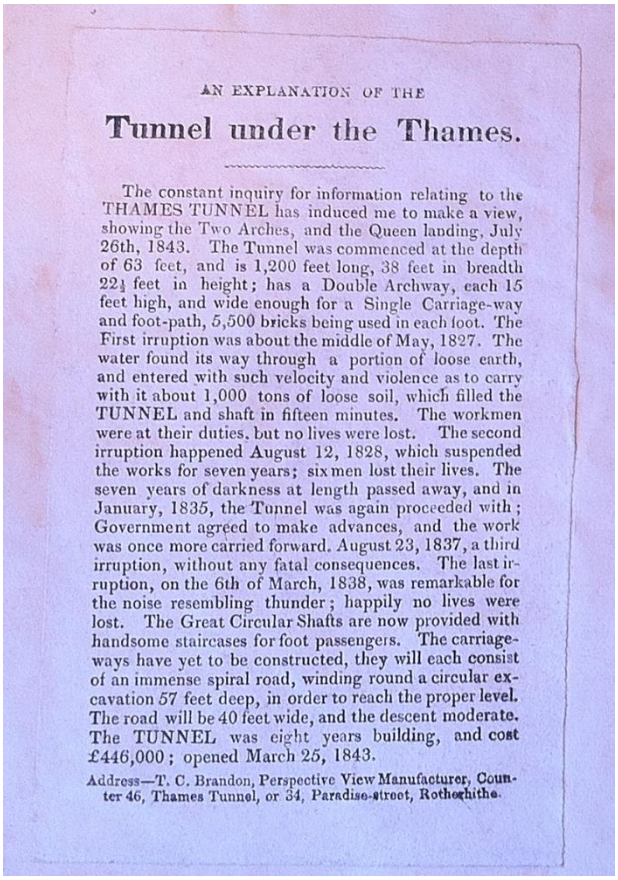
Steel Plate Engravings and Perspective Views of the Thames Tunnel sent free by Post.

Engravings on Enamel, per set . . 1s. and 2s.
Ditto Bronzed do . . 2s. and 4s.
Perspective Views . . . . 1s. 2s. 3. and 4s.
Various Views of London and the Country, on Enamel, 26 for 4s.
Ditto ditto (large) — ,, 7s.
Ditto ditto Bronzed or Gold — ,, 7s. and 12s.
Thames Tunnel and other illustrated letter and note paper (1,200 sorts).
Letter per dozen 2s., Note ditto 1s. 6d., Coloured ditto 3s. and 4s.

THE TOLL FOR PASSING INTO THE TUNNEL IS ONE PENNY EACH.

Address—B. Azulay, Perspective View Manufacturer, Counters 27, 41, and 63

Fig. 4.30. [*Thames Tunnel*] [d]. Designed by T. C. Brandon, published by Bondy Azulay. Hand-coloured engraving and aquatint. 20.3 x 17 x 57 (expanded). c1843. Reverse of front cover. Gestetner 243, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.



AN EXPLANATION OF THE

Tunnel under the Thames.

The constant inquiry for information relating to the THAMES TUNNEL has induced me to make a view, showing the Two Arches, and the Queen landing, July 26th, 1843. The Tunnel was commenced at the depth of 63 feet, and is 1,200 feet long, 38 feet in breadth 22½ feet in height; has a Double Archway, each 15 feet high, and wide enough for a Single Carriage-way and foot-path, 5,500 bricks being used in each foot. The First irruption was about the middle of May, 1827. The water found its way through a portion of loose earth, and entered with such velocity and violence as to carry with it about 1,000 tons of loose soil, which filled the TUNNEL and shaft in fifteen minutes. The workmen were at their duties, but no lives were lost. The second irruption happened August 12, 1828, which suspended the works for seven years; six men lost their lives. The seven years of darkness at length passed away, and in January, 1835, the Tunnel was again proceeded with; Government agreed to make advances, and the work was once more carried forward. August 23, 1837, a third irruption, without any fatal consequences. The last irruption, on the 6th of March, 1838, was remarkable for the noise resembling thunder; happily no lives were lost. The Great Circular Shafts are now provided with handsome staircases for foot passengers. The carriage-ways have yet to be constructed, they will each consist of an immense spiral road, winding round a circular excavation 57 feet deep, in order to reach the proper level. The road will be 40 feet wide, and the descent moderate. The TUNNEL was eight years building, and cost £446,000; opened March 25, 1843.

Address—T. C. Brandon, Perspective View Manufacturer, Counter 46, Thames Tunnel, or 34, Paradise-street, Rotherhithe.

Fig. 4.31. [*Thames Tunnel*] [b]. Published T. C. Brandon. Hand-coloured steel engraving and hand-coloured aquatint. 13.8 x 19 x 54 cm (expanded). c1843. Reverse of front-cover. Gestetner 240, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

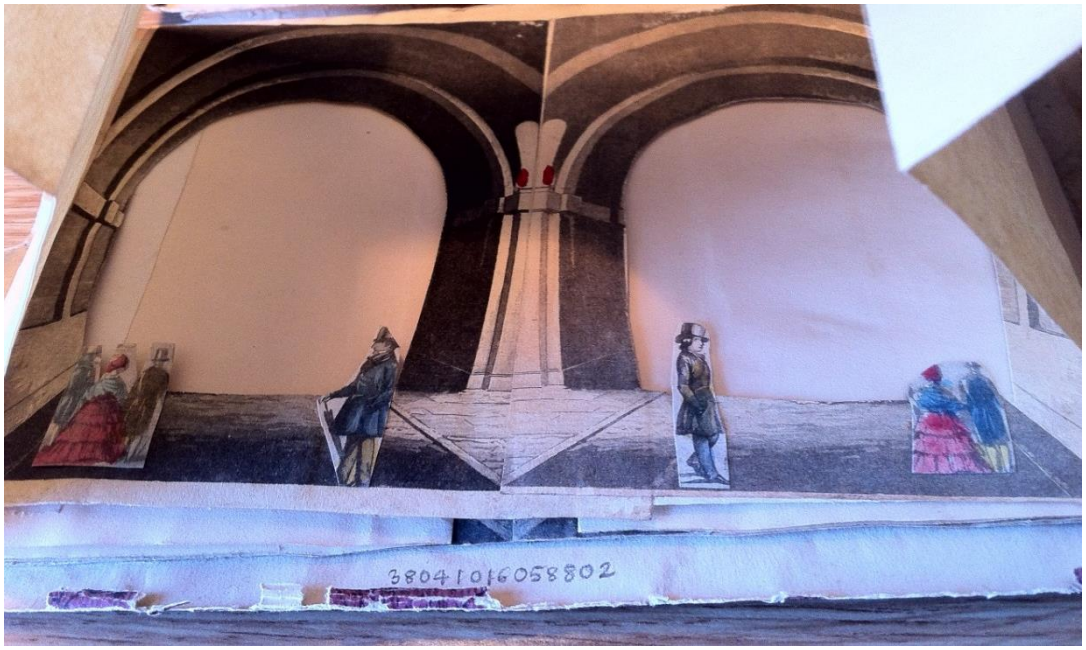
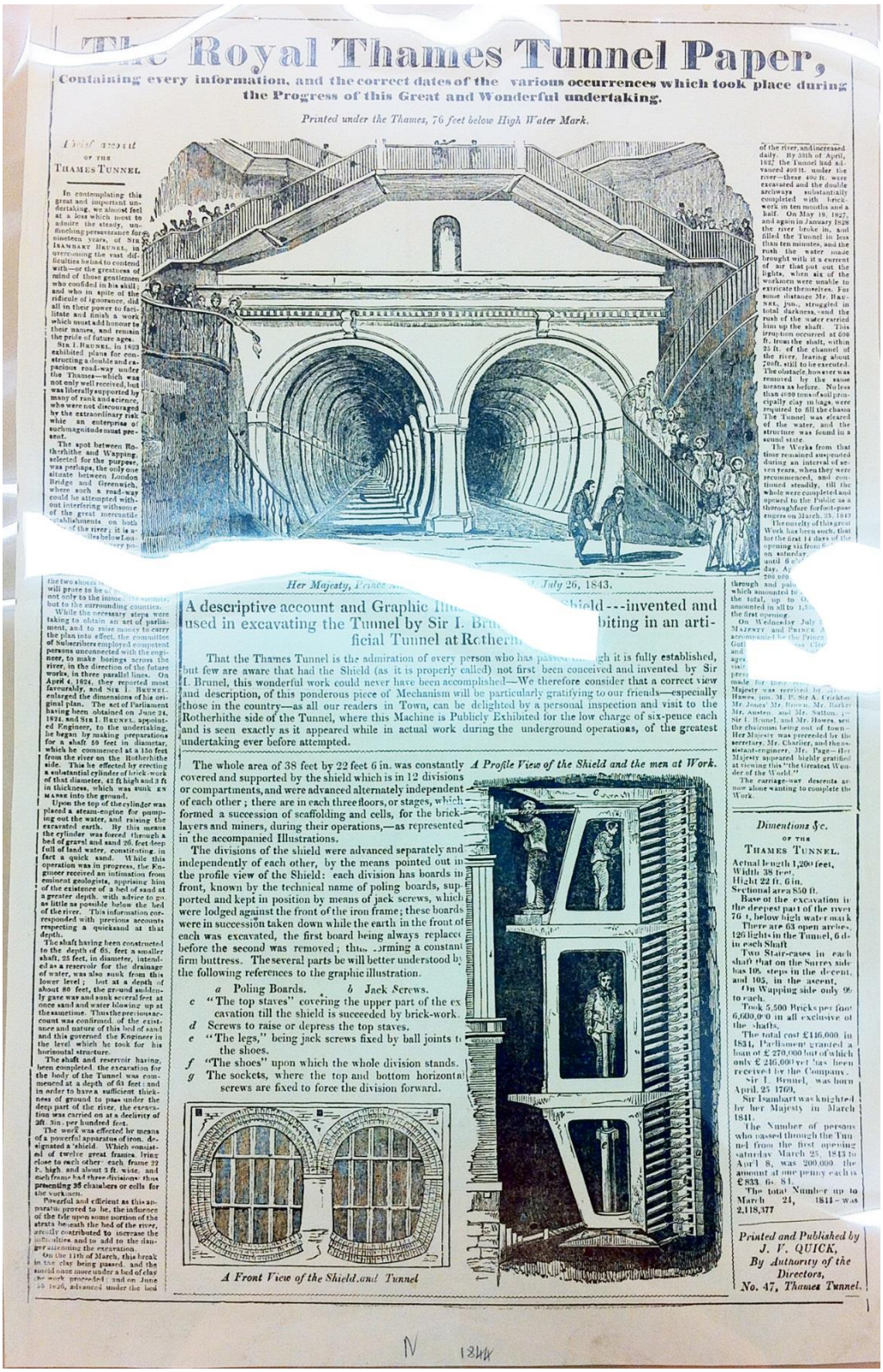


Fig. 4.32. [*Thames Tunnel*] [b]. Published T. C. Brandon. Hand-coloured steel engraving and hand-coloured aquatint. 13.8 x 19 x 54 cm (expanded). c1843. Cut-out panel detail. Gestetner 240, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 4.33. Thames Tunnel print. Anonymous. Medium and dimensions unknown. c1843. SC/GL/NOB/C/48/12, London Metropolitan Archives, City of London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 4.34. [*Thames Tunnel*] [a]. Printed for and published by G. Purkis. Hand-coloured wood engraving. 11.3 x 7.5 x 26 cm (expanded). c1843. Peep-view. Gestetner 239, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.



The Royal Thames Tunnel Paper,

Containing every information, and the correct dates of the various occurrences which took place during the Progress of this Great and Wonderful undertaking.

Printed under the Thames, 76 feet below High Water Mark.

A descriptive account and Graphic Illu… Shield---invented and used in excavating the Tunnel by Sir I. Bru… biting in an artificial Tunnel at Rotherh…

That the Thames Tunnel is the admiration of every person who has passed … gh it is fully established, but few are aware that had the Shield (as it is properly called) not first been conceived and invented by Sir I. Brunel, this wonderful work could never have been accomplished—We therefore consider that a correct view and description, of this ponderous piece of Mechanism will be particularly gratifying to our friends—especially those in the country—as all our readers in Town, can be delighted by a personal inspection and visit to the Rotherhithe side of the Tunnel, where this Machine is Publicly Exhibited for the low charge of six-pence each and is seen exactly as it appeared while in actual work during the underground operations, of the greatest undertaking ever before attempted.

A Profile View of the Shield and the men at Work.

The whole area of 38 feet by 22 feet 6 in. was constantly covered and supported by the shield which is in 12 divisions or compartments, and were advanced alternately independent of each other; there are in each three floors, or stages, which formed a succession of scaffolding and cells, for the bricklayers and miners, during their operations,—as represented in the accompanied Illustrations.

The divisions of the shield were advanced separately and independently of each other, by the means pointed out in the profile view of the Shield: each division has boards in front, known by the technical name of poling boards, supported and kept in position by means of jack screws, which were lodged against the front of the iron frame; these boards were in succession taken down while the earth in the front of each was excavated, the first board being always replaced before the second was removed; thus forming a constant firm buttress. The several parts be will better understood by the following references to the graphic illustration.

a Poling Boards. *b* Jack Screws.
c "The top staves" covering the upper part of the ex… cavation till the shield is succeeded by brick-work.
d Screws to raise or depress the top staves.
e "The legs," being jack screws fixed by ball joints t… the shoes.
f "The shoes" upon which the whole division stands.
g The sockets, where the top and bottom horizontal screws are fixed to force the division forward.

A Front View of the Shield and Tunnel

Dimentions &c. of the Thames Tunnel.

Actual length 1,200 feet,
Width 38 feet,
Hight 22 ft. 6in.
Sectional area 850 ft.
Base of the excavation is the deepest part of the river 76 ft. below high water mark
There are 63 open arches, 126 lights in the Tunnel, 6 di… in each Shaft
Two Stair-cases in each shaft that on the Surrey side has 105 steps in the decent, and 103, in the ascent, the Wapping side only 99 to each.
Took 5,500 Bricks per foot 6,600,0'0 in all exclusive of the shafts.
The total cost £416,000 in 1831, Parliament granted a loan of £ 270,000 but of which only £ 246,000 yet has been received by the Company.
Sir I. Brunel, was born April 25 1769.
Sir Isambart was knighted by her Majesty in March 1841.
The Number of persons who passed through the Tunnel from the first opening saturday March 25, 1843 to April 8, was 200,000. the amount at one penny each is £833. 6. 8d.
The total Number up to March 24, 1844 was 2,118,377

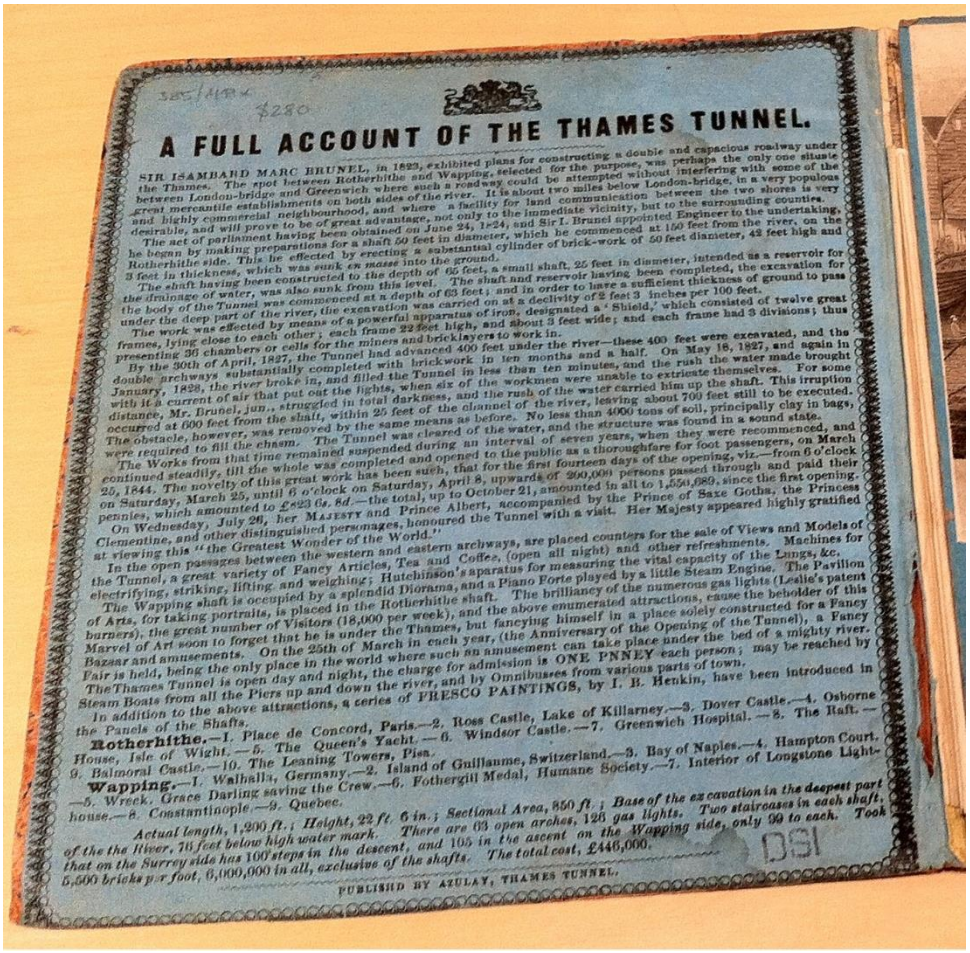
Printed and Published by J. V. QUICK, By Authority of the Directors, No. 47, Thames Tunnel.

N 1844

Fig. 4.35. *The Royal Thames Tunnel Paper*. Published by J. V. Quick. Medium and dimensions unknown. 1844. BSIDE 20.80, 5486291068, Guildhall Library, City of London. © Courtesy of the Guildhall Library, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 4.36. *River Thames and Tunnel*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured lithograph. 18 x 23.5 x 79 cm (expanded). c1843. Front-face. Gestetner 238, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 4.37. *Thames Tunnel Peep Show*. Attributed to Bondy Azulay. Medium and dimensions unknown. c1846. Reverse of the front cover. 1998-11940, National Railway Museum, York. © Courtesy of the National Railway Museum, York. Author's photo.



A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE THAMES TUNNEL.

SIR ISAMBARD MARC BRUNEL, in 1823, exhibited plans for constructing a double and capacious roadway under the Thames. The spot between Rotherhithe and Wapping, selected for the purpose, was perhaps the only one situate between London-bridge and Greenwich where such a roadway could be attempted without interfering with some of the great mercantile establishments on both sides of the river. It is about two miles below London-bridge, in a very populous and highly commercial neighbourhood, and where a facility for land communication between the two shores is very desirable, and will prove to be of great advantage, not only to the immediate vicinity, but to the surrounding counties.

The act of parliament having been obtained on June 24, 1824, and Sir I. Brunel appointed Engineer to the undertaking, he began by making preparations for a shaft 50 feet in diameter, which he commenced at 150 feet from the river, on the Rotherhithe side. This he effected by erecting a substantial cylinder of brick-work of 50 feet diameter, 42 feet high and 3 feet in thickness, which was sunk *en masse* into the ground.

The shaft having been constructed to the depth of 65 feet, a small shaft, 25 feet in diameter, intended as a reservoir for the drainage of water, was also sunk from this level. The shaft and reservoir having been completed, the excavation for the body of the Tunnel was commenced at a depth of 63 feet; and in order to have a sufficient thickness of ground to pass under the deep part of the river, the excavation was carried on at a declivity of 2 feet 3 inches per 100 feet.

The work was effected by means of a powerful apparatus of iron, designated a 'Shield,' which consisted of twelve great frames, lying close to each other; each frame 22 feet high, and about 3 feet wide; and each frame had 3 divisions; thus presenting 36 chambers or cells for the miners and bricklayers to work in.

By the 30th of April, 1827, the Tunnel had advanced 400 feet under the river—these 400 feet were excavated, and the double archways substantially completed with brickwork in ten months and a half. On May 18, 1827, and again in January, 1828, the river broke in, and filled the Tunnel in less than ten minutes, and the rush the water made brought with it a current of air that put out the lights, when six of the workmen were unable to extricate themselves. For some distance, Mr. Brunel, jun., struggled in total darkness, and the rush of the water carried him up the shaft. This irruption occurred at 600 feet from the shaft, within 25 feet of the channel of the river, leaving about 700 feet still to be executed. The obstacle, however, was removed by the same means as before. No less than 4000 tons of soil, principally clay in bags, were required to fill the chasm. The Tunnel was cleared of the water, and the structure was found in a sound state.

The Works from that time remained suspended during an interval of seven years, when they were recommenced, and continued steadily, till the whole was completed and opened to the public as a thoroughfare for foot passengers, on March 25, 1844. The novelty of this great work has been such, that for the first fourteen days of the opening, viz.—from 6 o'clock on Saturday, March 25, until 6 o'clock on Saturday, April 8, upwards of 200,000 persons passed through and paid their pennies, which amounted to £423 6s. 8d.—the total, up to October 21, amounted in all to 1,550,989, since the first opening.

On Wednesday, July 26, her MAJESTY and Prince Albert, accompanied by the Prince of Saxe Gotha, the Princess Clementine, and other distinguished personages, honoured the Tunnel with a visit. Her Majesty appeared highly gratified at viewing this "the Greatest Wonder of the World."

In the open passages between the western and eastern archways, are placed counters for the sale of Views and Models of the Tunnel, a great variety of Fancy Articles, Tea and Coffee, (open all night) and other refreshments. Machines for electrifying, striking, lifting and weighing; Hutchinson's aparatus for measuring the vital capacity of the Lungs, &c.

The Wapping shaft is occupied by a splendid Diorama, and a Piano Forte played by a little Steam Engine. The Pavilion of Arts, for taking portraits, is placed in the Rotherhithe shaft. The brilliancy of the numerous gas lights (Leslie's patent burners), the great number of Visitors (18,000 per week), and the above enumerated attractions, cause the beholder of this Marvel of Art soon to forget that he is under the Thames, but fancying himself in a place solely constructed for a Fancy Bazaar and amusements. On the 25th of March in each year, (the Anniversary of the Opening of the Tunnel), a Fancy Fair is held, being the only place in the world where such an amusement can take place under the bed of a mighty river.

The Thames Tunnel is open day and night, the charge for admission is ONE PNNEY each person; may be reached by Steam Boats from all the Piers up and down the river, and by Omnibusses from various parts of town.

In addition to the above attractions, a series of FRESCO PAINTINGS, by I. B. Henkin, have been introduced in the Panels of the Shafts.

Rotherhithe.—1. Place de Concord, Paris.—2. Ross Castle, Lake of Killarney.—3. Dover Castle.—4. Osborne House, Isle of Wight.—5. The Queen's Yacht.—6. Windsor Castle.—7. Greenwich Hospital.—8. The Raft.—9. Balmoral Castle.—10. The Leaning Towers, Pisa.

Wapping.—1. Walhalla, Germany.—2. Island of Guillaume, Switzerland.—3. Bay of Naples.—4. Hampton Court.—5. Wreck. Grace Darling saving the Crew.—6. Fothergill Medal, Humane Society.—7. Interior of Longstone Lighthouse.—8. Constantinople.—9. Quebec.

Actual length, 1,200 ft.; Height, 22 ft. 6 in.; Sectional Area, 850 ft.; Base of the excavation in the deepest part of the the River, 76 feet below high water mark. There are 63 open arches, 126 gas lights. Two staircases in each shaft, that on the Surrey side has 100 steps in the descent, and 105 in the ascent on the Wapping side, only 99 to each. Took 5,500 bricks per foot, 6,000,000 in all, exclusive of the shafts. The total cost, £446,000.

PUBLISHED BY AZULAY, THAMES TUNNEL.

Fig. 4.38. *A Perspective View of the Thames and the Thames Tunnel. History of the Thames Tunnel* [b]. Published by Bondy Azulay. Hand-colour steel engraving. 20 x 15 cm (closed). c1844. Reverse of the front cover. TA820. L8P46 1844, The Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology, Smithsonian Libraries, Washington D. C. © Courtesy of Smithsonian Libraries, Washington D. C. Author's photo.

Fig. 4.39. *A Perspective View of the Thames and the Thames Tunnel. History of the Thames Tunnel* [b]. Published by Bondy Azulay. Hand-colour steel engraving. 20 x 15 cm (closed). c1844. Front-face. TA820. L8P46 1844, The Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology, Smithsonian Libraries, Washington D. C. © Courtesy of Smithsonian Libraries, Washington D. C. Author's photo.

Fig. 4.40. *Thames Tunnel, Stepney*. T. Brandon. Engraving. 28 x 21 cm. 1843. SC/GL/PR/S3/THA/p5410530, London Metropolitan Archives, City of London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London (Collage: the London Picture Archive, ref 22418).

Fig. 4.41 ‘Landing of the Queen and the Coburg Family at the Tunnel Pier.’ Anonymous. Wood engraving. Dimensions unknown. 1843. From *Illustrated London News* 3, no. 66, 5 August 1843, 96. The *Illustrated London News* Historical Archive, 1842-2003, Gale Primary Sources.

Fig. 5.1. *View of the Mall in St. James's Park* [a]. Anonymous, sold wholesale by C. Essex & Co. Hand-coloured aquatint. 10.5 x 13.5 x 62 cm (expanded). 1829. Peep-view. Gestetner 212, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 5.2. *View of the Mall in St. James's Park* [a]. Anonymous, sold wholesale by C. Essex & Co. Hand-coloured aquatint. 10.5 x 13.5 x 62 cm (expanded). 1829. Front-face. Gestetner 212, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 5.3. *View of St. James's Park during the Progress of His Majesty to the House of Lords, 21st June 1831*. Anonymous, sold wholesale by C. Essex & Co. Hand-coloured aquatint. 10.5 x 13.5 x 60 cm (expanded). Slipcase. 1831. GV1199. V5, Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Conn. © Courtesy of Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. Author's photo.

Fig. 5.4. *View of St. James's Park during the Progress of His Majesty to the House of Lords, 21st June 1831*. Anonymous, sold wholesale by C. Essex & Co. Hand-coloured aquatint. 10.5 x 13.5 x 60 cm (expanded). Front-face. 1831. GV1199. V5, Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Conn. © Courtesy of Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. Author's photo.

Fig. 5.5. *View of St. James's Park during the Progress of His Majesty to the House of Lords, 21st June 1831*. Anonymous, sold wholesale by C. Essex & Co. Hand-coloured aquatint. 10.5 x 13.5 x 60 cm (expanded). Fourth cut-out panel. SC/GL/PAN/001/M0051905CL, London Metropolitan Archives, City of London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 5.6. *View of St. James's Park during the Progress of His Majesty to the House of Lords, 21st June 1831*. Anonymous, sold wholesale by C. Essex & Co. Hand-coloured aquatint. 10.5 x 13.5 x 60 cm (expanded). Fifth cut-out panel. SC/GL/PAN/001/M0051905CL, London Metropolitan Archives, City of London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 5.7. *View of St James's Park and Her Majesty Queen Victoria Going to the House of Lords*. Anonymous. Pen and ink and watercolour. 11.5 x 14 x 54 cm (expanded). c1838. Fifth cut-out panel. Gestetner 232, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 5.8. 'Coronation of the King.' Anonymous. Medium and dimensions unknown. 1831. From *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle* X, no. 494, 11 September 1831, Nineteenth Century UK Periodicals, Gale Primary Sources.

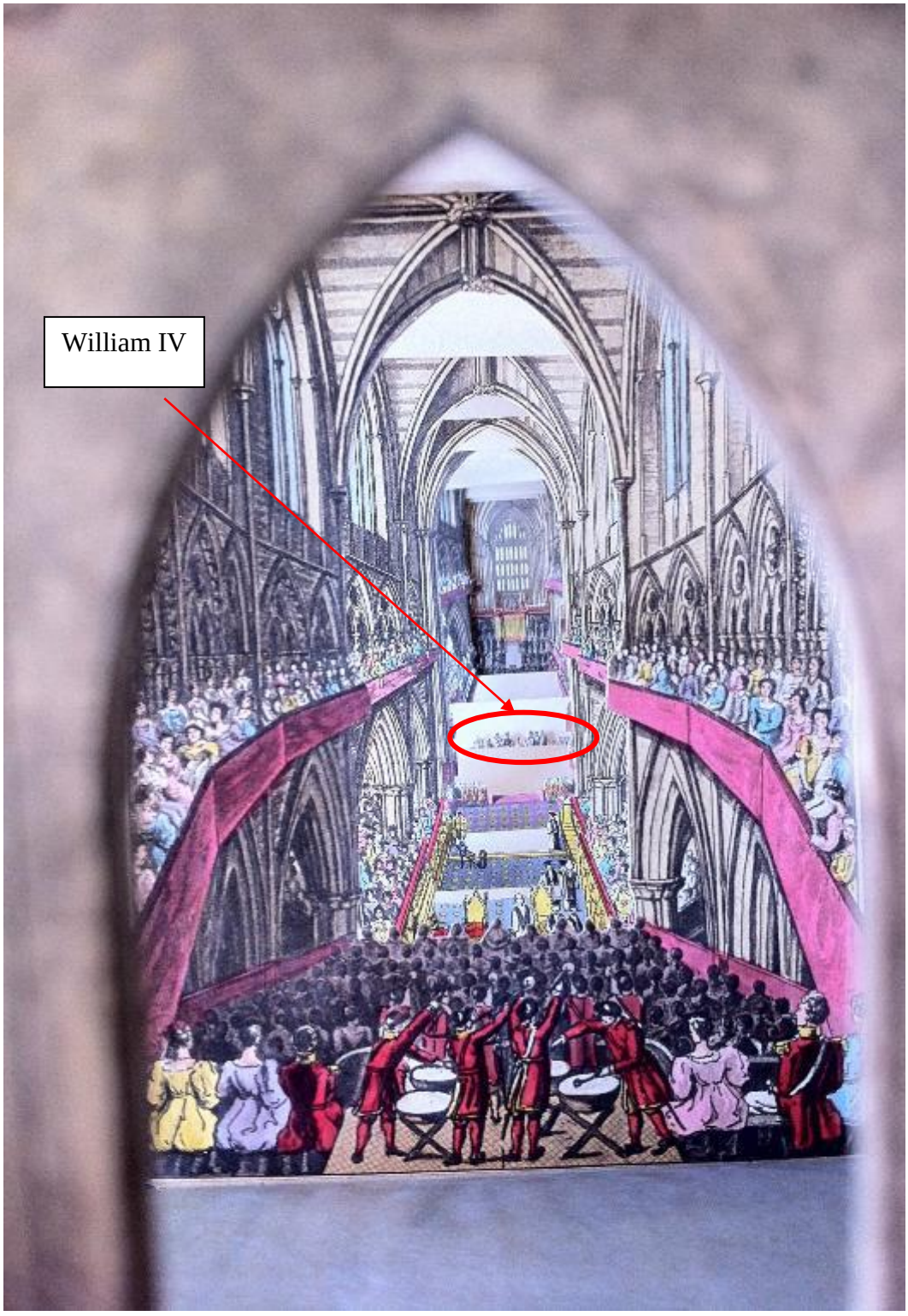


Fig. 5.9. *The Coronation in the Abbey of St Peter's Westminster, of His Majesty King William IV*th *and Queen Adelaide*. Drawn and etched by James Robert Thompson, published by C. Essex. Hand-coloured aquatint. 14.7 x 11.4 x 76 cm (expanded). 1831. Peep-view. Gestetner 224, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Author's photo. With author's annotation.

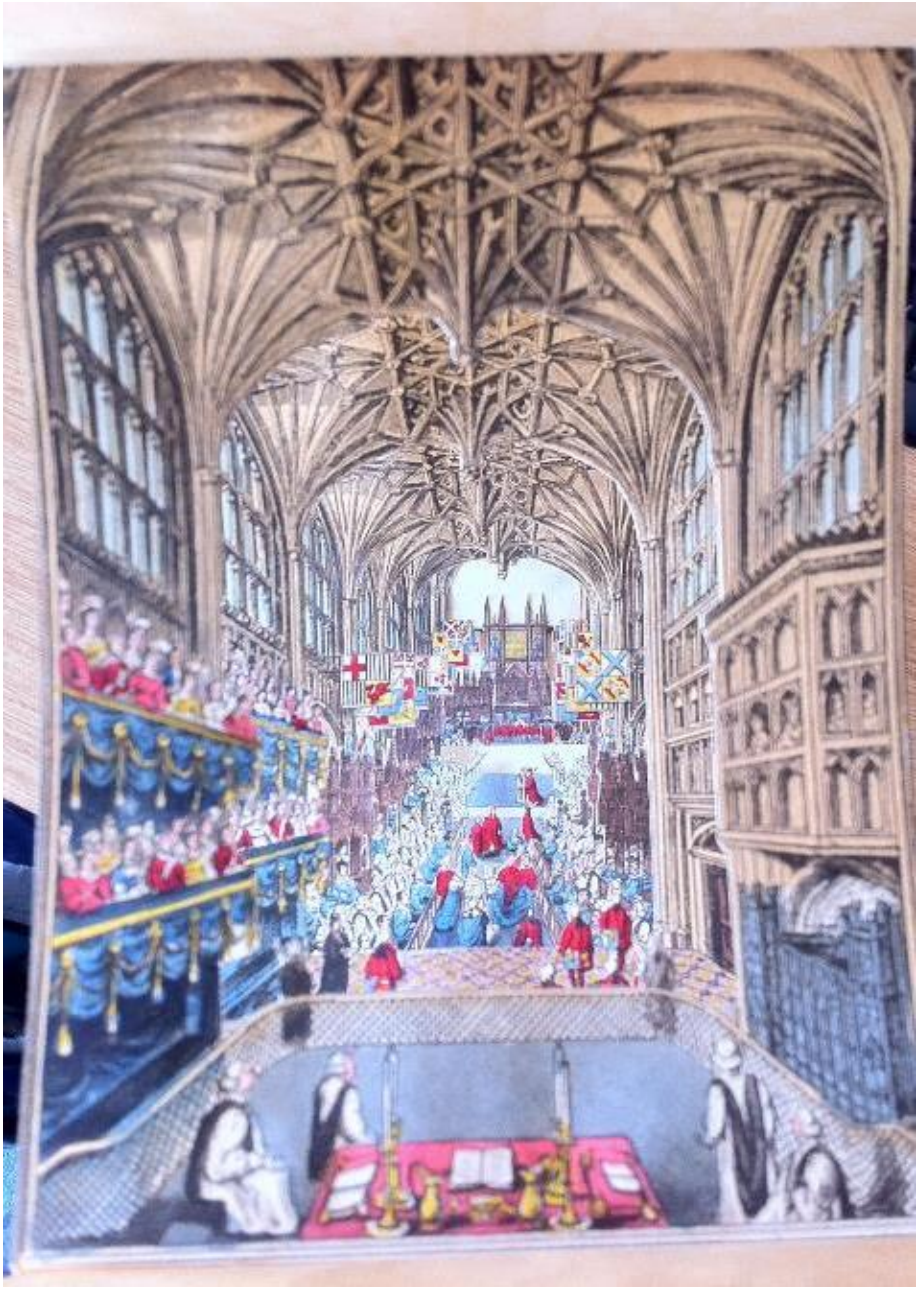


Fig. 5.10. *The Installation of the Knights of the Garter in the Chapel of St. George, Windsor*. Drawn and etched by James Robert Thompson, published by Charles Essex. Hand-coloured aquatint. 15 x 11.2 x 73 cm (expanded). c1831. Peep-view. Gestetner 218, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 5.11. *Perspective View of the Coronation of Queen Victoria in Westminster Abbey, June 26, 1838.* Published by Charles Tilt. Hand-coloured etching. 15 x 11.4 x 72 cm (expanded). 1838. Fifth Cut-out panel detail. Gestetner 231, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 5.12. [*Valentine Card*]. Anonymous. Watercolour. Peepshow measures 0.7 x 0.5 cm (closed). c1840. Gestetner 236, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 5.13. [*Valentine Card*]. Anonymous. Watercolour. Peepshow measures 0.7 x 0.5 cm (closed). c1840. Peep-view. Gestetner 236, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 5.14. *Dean's New Magic Picture Book Showing Wonderful & Lifelike Effects of Real Distance & Space: Book I*. Published by Dean & Son. Hand-coloured wood engraving. Peepshow measures 13 x 15 cm (closed). 1861. Page 2, detail of peepshow. Gestetner 272, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London. Author's photo.

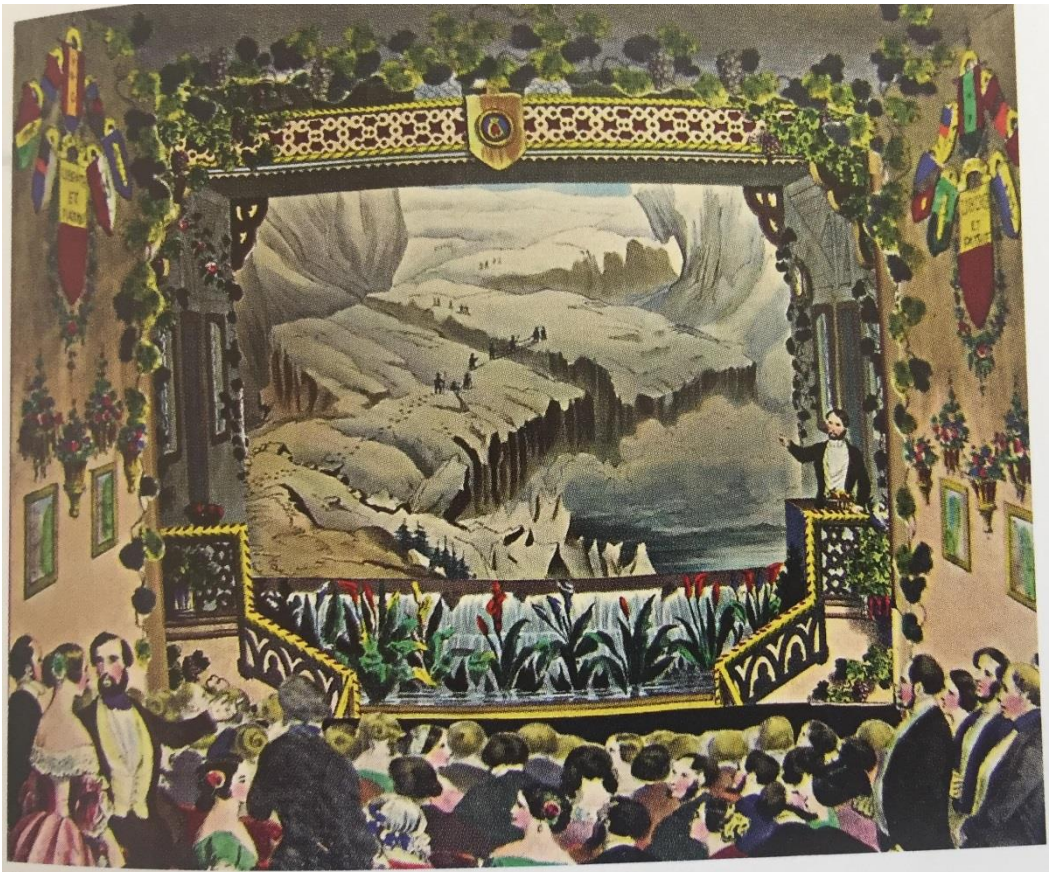


Fig. 5.15. *Mr. Albert Smith's Ascent of Mont Blanc Every Evening at the Egyptian Hall Piccadilly*. Anonymous. Hand-coloured lithograph. 20 x 23 x 27 cm (expanded). 1853. Peep-view. Gestetner 263, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London. Photography: Dennis Crompton.

Fig. 5.16. 'The Queen's Visit to the City of London – The Royal Throne in the Guildhall.' A. J. Mason. Wood engraving. Dimensions unknown. 1851. From *Illustrated London News* 9, no. 501, 12 July 1831, 53. The *Illustrated London News* Historical Archive, 1842-2003, Gale Primary Sources.

Fig. 5.17. *Bailey Rawlins' Expanding View of the Queen's Visit to the Civic Entertainment.* Published for the proprietor by C. A. Lane. Chromolithograph. 16.5 x 18.5 x 50 cm (expanded). 1851. Front-face. Gestetner 251, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 5.18. 'Procession of Her Majesty to the State Ball in the Guildhall.' A. J. Mason. Wood engraving. Dimensions unknown. 1851. From *Illustrated London News* 9, no. 501, 12 July 1831, 60. The *Illustrated London News* Historical Archive, 1842-2003, Gale Primary Sources.

Fig. 5.19. *Bailey Rawlins' Expanding View of the Queen's Visit to the Civic Entertainment.* Published for the proprietor by C. A. Lane. Chromolithograph. 16.5 x 18.5 x 50 cm (expanded). 1851. Peep-view. Gestetner 251, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 5.20. 'Procession of Her Majesty to the State Ball in the Guildhall.' A. J. Mason. Wood engraving. Dimensions unknown. 1851. From *Illustrated London News* 9, no. 501, 12 July 1831, 68. The *Illustrated London News* Historical Archive, 1842-2003, Gale Primary Sources.

Fig. 5.21. *Bailey Rawlins's Expanding View of the Royal Visit to the City*. Published by the proprietor and also by Charles Moody. 16.5 x 18.5 x 48 cm (expanded). Chromolithograph. 1851. Peep-view. Gestetner 252, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London. Author's photo.

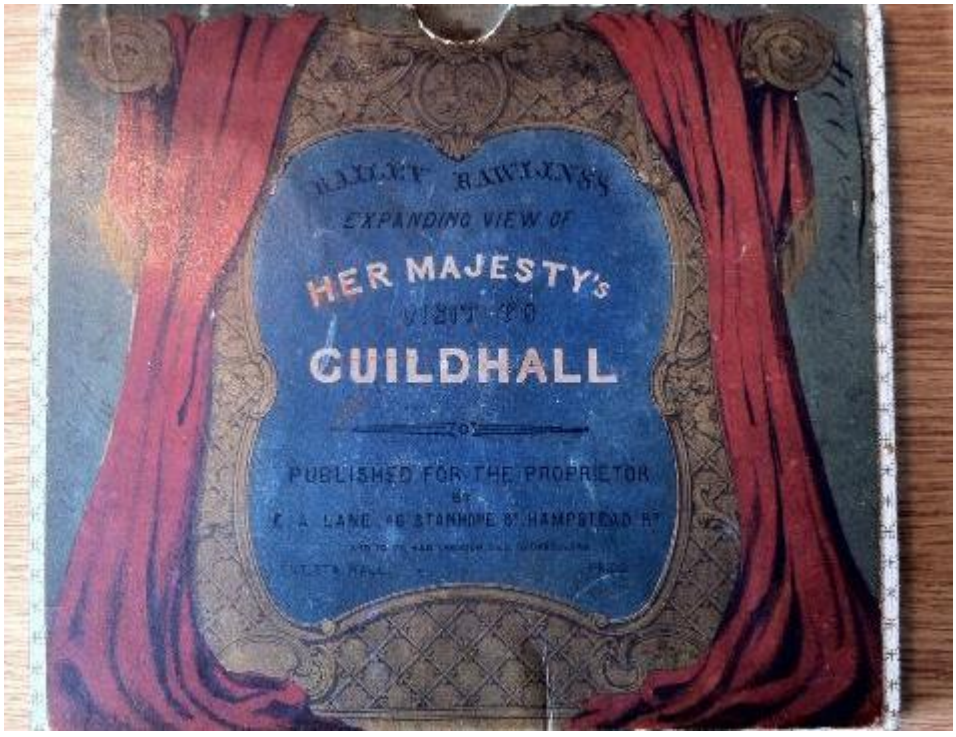


Fig. 5.22. *Bailey Rawlins' Expanding View of the Queen's Visit to the Civic Entertainment.* Published for the proprietor by C. A. Lane. Chromolithograph. 16.5 x 18.5 x 50 cm (expanded). 1851. Slipcase. Gestetner 251, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London. Author's photo.

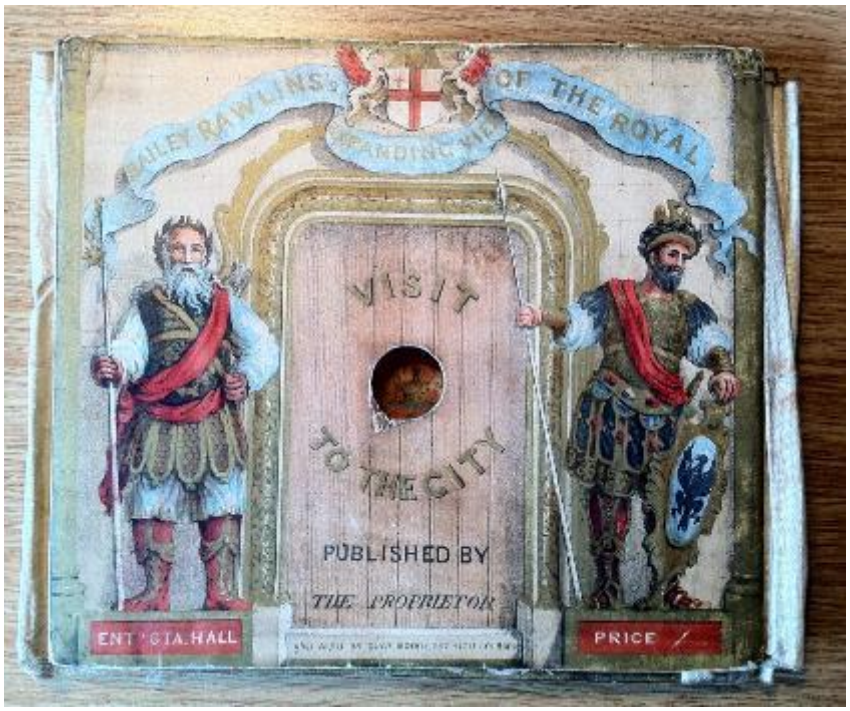


Fig. 5.23. *Bailey Rawlins's Expanding View of the Royal Visit to the City*. Published by the proprietor and also by Charles Moody. 16.5 x 18.5 x 48 cm (expanded). Chromolithograph. 1851. Front-face. Gestetner 252, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 5.24. *Bailey Rawlins's Expanding View of the Royal Visit to the City*. Published by the proprietor and also by Charles Moody. 16.5 x 18.5 x 48 cm (expanded). Chromolithograph. 1851. First cut-out panel. Gestetner 252, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 5.25 *Viaorama, or The Way to St. Paul's*. Published by Ingrey & Madeley. Hand-coloured lithograph. 17 x 16.1 x 29 cm (expanded). 1825. Side view. Gestetner 197, Jacqueline and Jonathan Gestetner Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. © Courtesy of London Metropolitan Archives, London. Author's photo.

Fig. 6.1. Photo taken from the workshop ‘Paper Peepshow: Making Your Own’ led by Su Blackwell at Birkbeck College, University of London, 2018. Author’s photo.

Fig. 6.2. Author’s copy of the paper peepshow made at the workshop ‘Paper Peepshow: Making Your Own’ led by Su Blackwell at Birkbeck College, University of London, 2018. Design by Su Blackwell. Author’s photo.

Appendices Nineteenth-Century British Paper Peepshows in Collections Worldwide

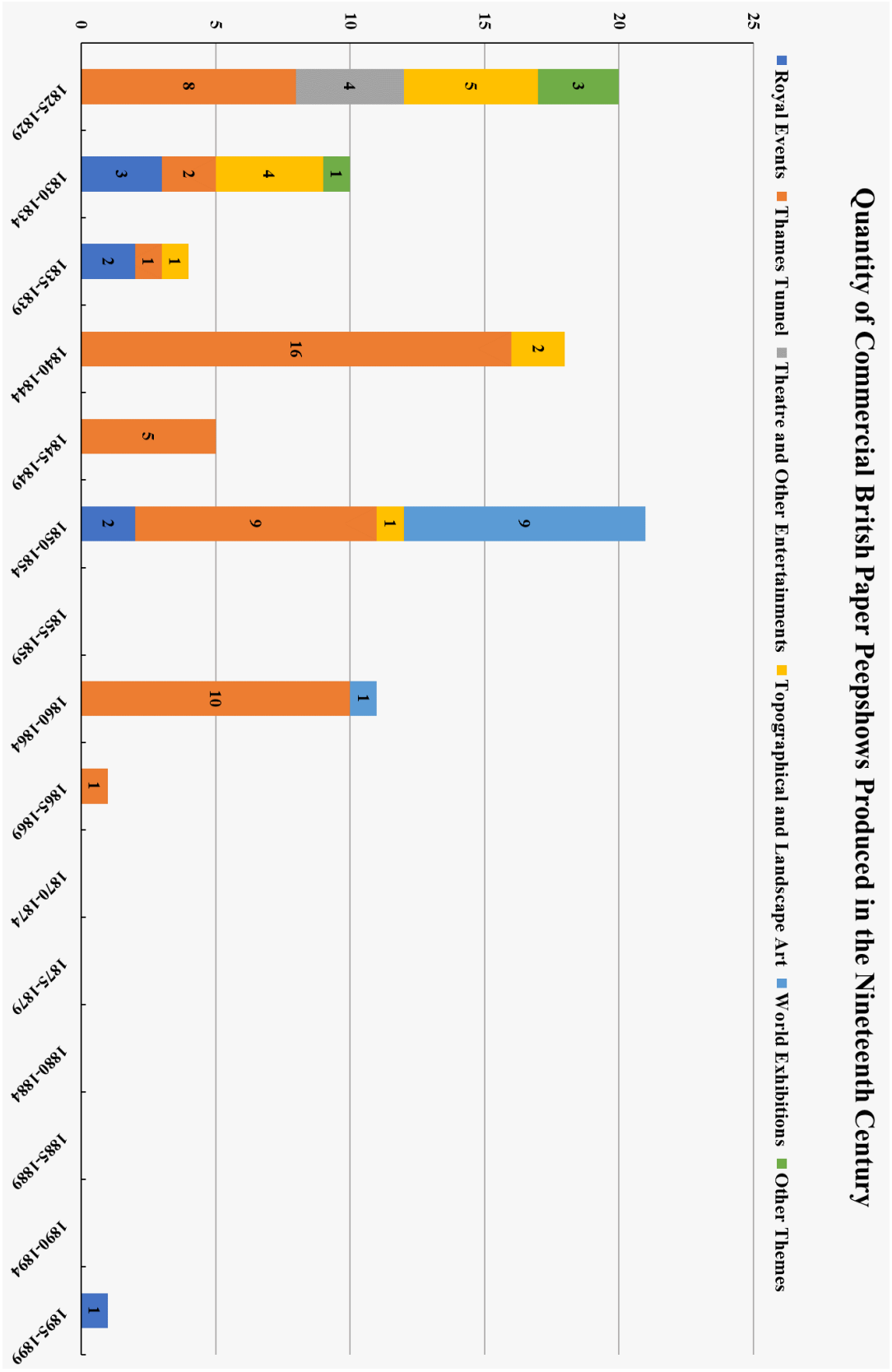
- Although this thesis only covers English paper peepshows produced in the period between 1825 and 1851, the appendices give information about all the nineteenth-century British works so far identified. The longer timespan allows the development of this medium to be more clearly illustrated. At the same time, the inclusion of non-English but British works aims to make the appendices useful for scholars interested in analysing the paper peepshow in the context of other regions in Britain.
- Included in the appendices are only works that conform to the definition of the paper peepshow used in the thesis. Consequently, although in some collection catalogues, greeting cards, pop-up books, or optical devices with a layered panel and bellow structure are listed as paper peepshows, these works are not included here.
- Commercial paper peepshows include published works and handmade works produced by publishers. Homemade paper peepshows refer to works of amateur makers.

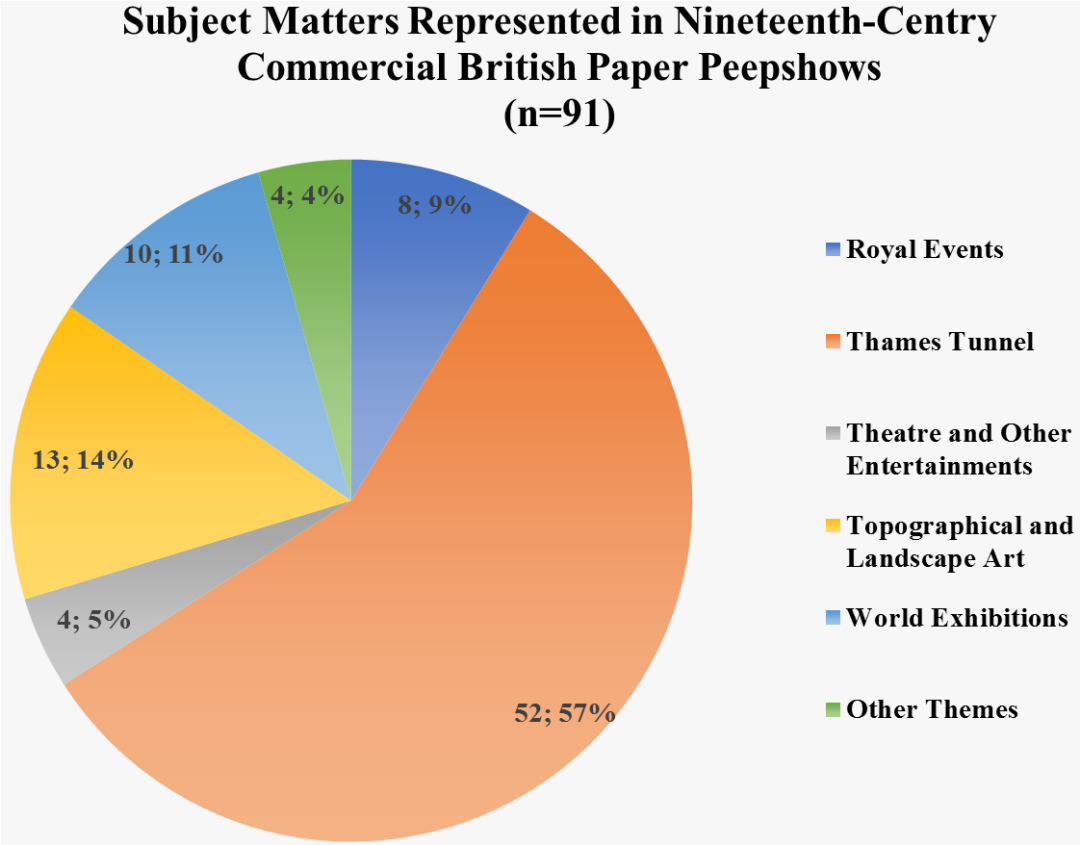
Appendix I Overview of Collection Information

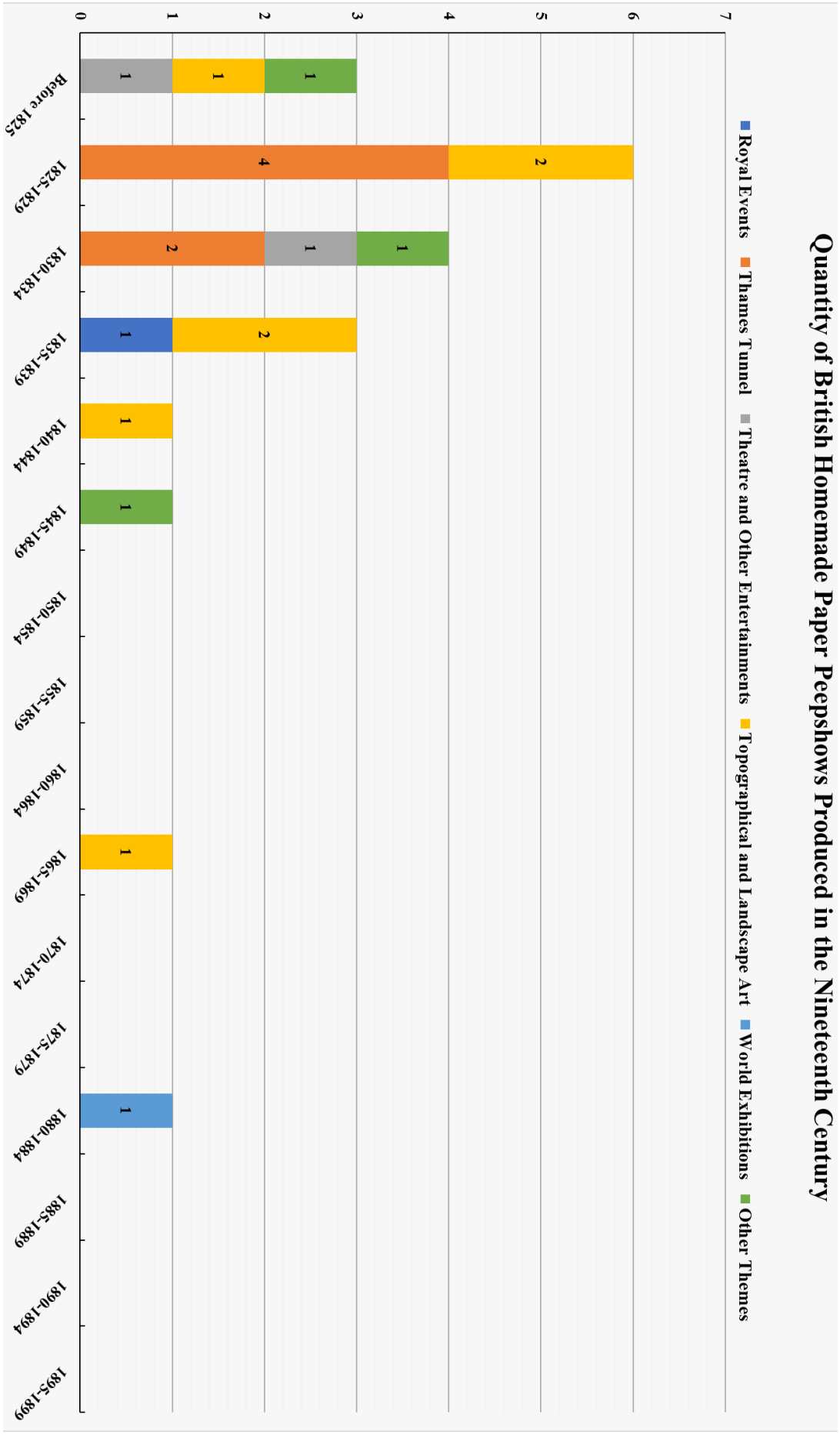
Name of Collection	Physical or Online Visit	Quantity of Works
AUSTRALIA		
Corrie Allegro Movable Book, Private Collection	Online	1 unique title
CANADA		
Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Toronto	Online	5 unique titles, one of which two copies
University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, Vancouver	Online	1 unique title
BRITAIN		
Bill Douglas Cinema Museum, University of Exeter	Physical	3 unique titles
British Library, London	Physical	3 unique titles
Guildhall Library, London	Physical	1 unique title
London Metropolitan Archives, City of London	Physical	8 unique titles
Museum of Brand, London	Physical	1 unique title
Museum of London, London	Physical	3 unique titles
Museum of London Docklands, London	Physical	2 unique titles
National Maritime Museum, London	Physical	2 unique titles
National Railway Museum, York	Physical	2 unique titles
Oxford University Libraries, John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera, Oxford	Physical	4 unique titles
Oxford University Libraries, Bodleian Library, Oxford	Physical	7 unique titles
Pierre Patau and Elisabeth Calley, Private Collection	Online	1 unique title
Science Museum, London	Physical	4 unique titles
V&A Museum of Childhood, London	Physical	4 unique titles
Victoria and Albert Museum, London	Physical	78 unique titles, four of which two copies
Westminster Abbey, London	Online	2 unique titles
Wilson Art Gallery and Museum, Cheltenham	Online	1 unique title
FRANCE		
François Binétruy, Private Collection	Online	3 unique titles
Cinémathèque Française, Paris	Online	1 unique title
GERMANY		
Camera Obscura mit dem Museum zur Vorgeschichte des Films, Mülheim an der Ruhr	Online	2 unique titles
ITALY		
Museo Nazionale del Cinema, Turin	Online	2 unique titles

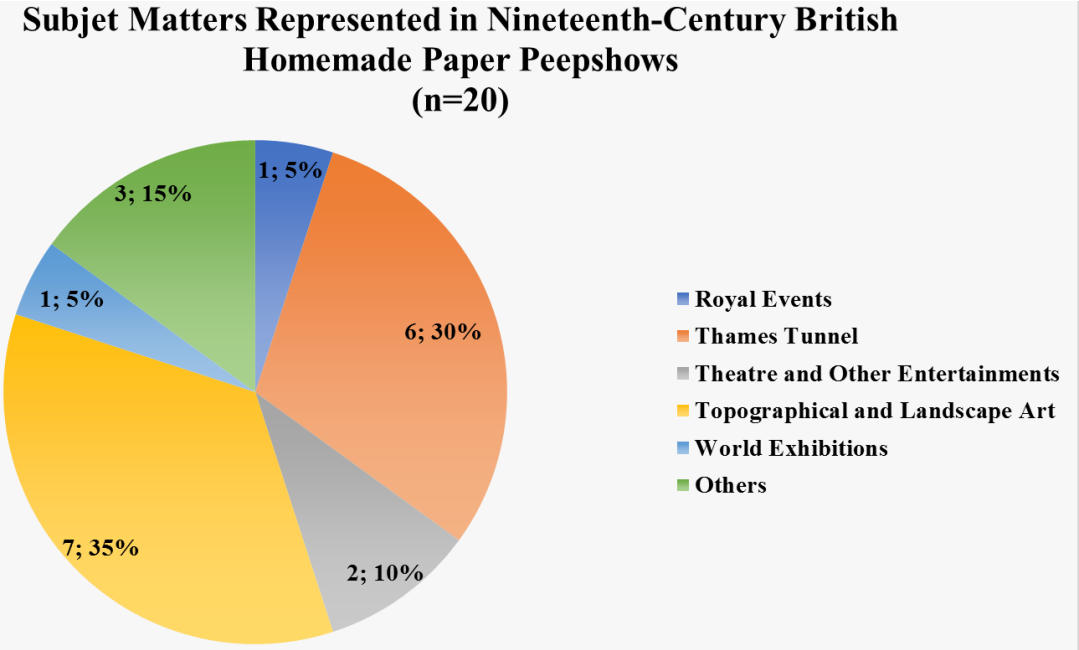
Name of Collection	Physical or Online Visit	Quantity of Works
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA		
Brown University Libraries, John Hay Library, Providence, R.I.	Online	2 unique titles
Columbia University, Avery Classics, Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library, New York, N.Y.	Online	2 unique titles
Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum, New York, N.Y.	Physical	1 unique title
Smithsonian Libraries, The Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology, Washington D. C.	Physical	8 unique titles
George Eastman Museum Library, Rochester, N.Y.	Online	3 unique titles
Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, Cali.	Online	2 unique titles
Indiana University Libraries, Lilly Library, Bloomington, Ind.	Online	4 unique titles, one of which two copies
Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa.	Physical	1 unique title
Middlebury College Libraries, Special Collections, Middlebury, Vt.	Online	1 unique title
Morgan Library & Museum, Pierpont Morgan Library Department of Printed Books, New York, N.Y.	Physical	6 unique titles
Princeton University Library, Cotsen Children's Library, New Jersey, N.J.	Physical	7 unique titles
Richard Balzer, Private Collection	Online	3 unique titles
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Libraries, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Urbana, Ill.	Online	1 unique title
University of South California Libraries, Special Collection, Los Angeles, Cali.	Online	1 unique title
Webster University Library, Rare Books, St Louis, Mo.	Online	1 unique title
Winterthur Library, Manuscript Collection, Winterthur, Del.	Physical	2 unique titles
Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Conn.	Physical	10 unique titles, one of which three copies
Yale University Libraries, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, New Haven, Conn.	Physical	1 unique title

Appendix II Graphic Representations of The Production of British Paper Peepshows in the Nineteenth Century




Subject Matters Represented in Nineteenth-Centry Commercial British Paper Peepshows (n=91)
8; 9%
52; 57%
4; 5%
13; 14%
10; 11%
4; 4%
Royal Events
Thames Tunnel
Theatre and Other Entertainments
Topographical and Landscape Art
World Exhibitions
Other Themes


Quantity of British Homemade Paper Peepshows Produced in the Nineteenth Century
Royal Events
Thames Tunnel
Theatre and Other Entertainments
Topographical and Landscape Art
World Exhibitions
Other Themes
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
Before 1825
1825-1829
1830-1834
1835-1839
1840-1844
1845-1849
1850-1854
1855-1859
1860-1864
1865-1869
1870-1874
1875-1879
1880-1884
1885-1889
1890-1894
1895-1899


Subjet Matters Represented in Nineteenth-Century British Homemade Paper Peepshows (n=20)
1; 5%
6; 30%
2; 10%
7; 35%
1; 5%
3; 15%
Royal Events
Thames Tunnel
Theatre and Other Entertainments
Topographical and Landscape Art
World Exhibitions
Others

Appendix III Database of Nineteenth-Century British Paper Peepshows in Collections Worldwide

- This database is arranged in themes. Commercial and homemade works are listed separately.
- The dimensions given in the database is in the order of height x width x length (when available). If a paper peepshow is housed in a cover that has a different orientation, the dimension given follows the orientation of the paper peepshow.
- When a paper peepshow has more than one copy, the general information given about this work takes into consideration of the physical appearance of all copies, and records what they share. Typically, different copies can have varied colouring. In cases when figures are pasted on the panels, details of the content may differ slightly between copies.
- Due to the different systems used in collections, the names and dimensions of the same work may not be identical. In such cases, the titles and dimensions in recorded Ralph Hyde, *Paper Peepshows: The Jacqueline & Jonathan Gestetner Collection* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2015), are adopted.
- All the letters added after the paper peepshow titles in square brackets are the author's, used to distinguish works in the database.
- In the 'Thames Tunnel' category, if a work also appears in Michael M. Chrimes, Julia Elton, and John May, 'The Catalogue.' In *The Triumphant Bore: A Celebration of Marc Brunel's Thames Tunnel*, written and compiled by Michael M. Chrimes et al. (London: Institution of Civil Engineers, Archives Panel, 1993), 33-96, the corresponding reference number is given. The numbering of different versions of the texts included in post-1843 Thames Tunnel paper peepshows also corresponds to the categorization of these texts in the same book.

View of St. James's Park during the Progress of His Majesty to the Hosue of Lords, 21st June 1831			3 Copies
Slipcase title *St. James's Park. His Majesty Proceeding to the House of Lords. The New Palace .*			
10.5 x 13.5 x 60 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured aquatint. Published in 1831.			
Imprint 'London. Published by the Engraver, 1831' on the front-face.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	London Metropolitan Archives, Special Collections	SC/GL/PAN/001/M0051905CL	Lacking the slipcase.
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 225	Nil
1	Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection	GV1199. V5	Retailer's label on the front of the slipcase: 'Sold wholesale by C. Essex & Co., Gloster Street St. Johns St. Road.;' Retailer's label on the reverse of the slipcase: 'W. & A. Essex, Bazaar, Nos. 333, 4, 5 & 6, Soho Square.'
The Coronation in the Abbey of St Peter's Westminster, of His Majesty King William IVth and Queen Adelaide			2 Copies
14.7 x 11.4 x 76 cm (expanded), 8 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured aquatint. Published in 1831.			
Imprint 'Published by C. Essex, 28 Gloucester Street, Clerkenwell [London]' on the front of the slipcase. Imprint 'Drawn & Etched by I.R.Thompson. Published by C. Essex, 28, Gloucester Stt. Clerkenwell, London' on the front-face.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 224	Second and third cut-out panels numbered '2' and '3' respectively; Seventh panel numbered '6; Manuscript inscription on the reverse of the back-board: 'Anna Maria E. Watson.'
1	Westminster Abbey	Not available	Nil

The Installation of the Knights of the Garter in the Chapel of St. George, Windsor			1 Copy
15 x 11.2 x 73 cm (expanded), 7 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured aquatint. Published in c1831.			
Imprint 'Published by Charles Essex, London' on the front of the slipcase. Imprint 'Drawn and etched by I.R.Thompson, published by Charles Essex, Wells Street, Grays Inn Road, London' on the front-face.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 218	Second to seventh cut-out panels numbered 2-7.
The Ceremony of Interring His Majesty William the 4th in the Chapel of St. George, Windsor			2 Copies
15 x 11 cm (closed), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Medium unknown. Published in c1837.			
Imprint 'Published by Charles Essex, London' on the front of the slipcase. Imprint 'Drawn and etched by I.R.Thompson. Published by Charles Essex, 19 Upper King Street, Bloomsbury Sqre. [London]' on the front-face.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Indiana University Libraries, Lilly Library	DA539.T47 C4	Ex libris Ruth E. Adomeit; Lacking the slipcase.
1	Oxford University Libraries, John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera	Games Drawer 7	Nil
Perspective View of the Coronation of Queen Victoria in Westminster Abbey, June 26, 1838			3 Copies
Slipcase title *View of the Coronation of Queen Victoria* .			
15 x 11.4 x 72 cm (expanded), 8 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured etching. Published in 1838.			
Publisher's imprint 'London: Charles Tilt, Fleet Street' on the front-face.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Bill Douglas Cinema Museum	70406	Nil
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 231	Second and third cut-out panels numbered '2' and '3' respectively; Seventh panel numbered '6'; Fourth and fifth panel assembled in reverse order
1	Westminster Abbey	Not available	Nil

Bailey Rawlins' [sic] Expanding View of the Queen's Visit to the Civic Entertainment				3 Copies
Slipcase title *Bailey Rawlins's Expanding View of Her Majesty's Visit to Guildhall .*				
16.5 x 18.5 x 50 cm (expanded), 4 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, equipped with a back-mounted lens, in a slipcase, cloth bellows left and right.				
Chromolithograph. Published in 1851.				
Imprint 'Published for the proprietor by C. A. Lane, 46, Stanhope St., Hampstead Rd. [London] and to be had through all Booksellers. Ent. Sta. Hall, Price [blank]' on the front of the slipcase.				
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**	
1	British Library	C.107.e.54	Lacking the lens.	
1	London Metropolitan Archives, Special Collections	SC/GL/PAN/004/ q4921719	Lacking the lens.	
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 251	Nil	
Bailey Rawlins's Expanding View of the Royal Visit to the City				2 Copies
16.5 x 18.5 x 48 cm (expanded), 4 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, cloth bellows left and right.				
Chromolithograph heightened with gum arabic. Published in 1851.				
Imprint 'Published by the proprietor and also by Chas. Moody, 257, High Holborn [London]. Entd. Sta. Hall. Price [blank]' on the front-face.				
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**	
1	Oxford University Libraries, John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera	Games Drawer 7	Nil	
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 252	In a modern, black slipcase.	
[*Queen Victoria's Diamon Jubilee*]				1 Copy
12.2 x 10.7 x 30 cm (expanded), 3 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, paper bellows top and bottom.				
Chromolithograph. Published in 1897.				
Anonymous publisher. Location of publication unknown.				
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**	
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 284	Nil	

Royal Events – Homemade

View of St. James's Park and Her Majesty Queen Victoria Going to the Hosue of Lords			1 Copy
11.5 x 14 x 54 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Pen and ink and watercolour. Made in c1838.			
Homemade paper peepshow. Anonymous maker. Location of production unknown.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 232	Nil

***The Tunnel* [a]**				5 Copies
12 x 15 x 66 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.				
Hand-coloured etching. Published on 16 June 1825.				
Imprint 'Pubd. June 16th 1825, by T. Brown, 23, White Hart Place, Kennington Cross [London]' on the front of the slipcase.				
Slipcase and front-face colour of different copies not always identical.				
Corresponds to work 'No. 145' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 74.				
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**	
1	Indiana University Libraries, Lilly Library	DA685.T36	From the library of Elisabeth Ball.	
1	Museum of London	30.90a	Lacking 2 panels.	
1	Oxford University Libraries, Bodleian Library, Opie Collection of Children's Literature	Opie E 73	Nil	
1	Smithsonian Libraries, The Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology	TA820.L8T92 1825	Nil	
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 195	Nil	
The Subaquarama				1 Copy
11.6 x 14.2 x 64 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.				
Hand-coloured etching. Published on 16 June 1825.				
Imprint 'Pubd. June 16th. 1825, by T. Brown, 23, White Hart Place, Kennington Cross [London]' on the front of the slipcase.				
Cut-out panels largely the same as those of *The Tunnel* [a], with different panel order and minor changes to figures.				
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**	
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 196	Nil	

***The Tunnel* [*b*]**			1 Copy
12 x 14.5 x 66 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured etching and steel engraving. Published in June 1825.			
Attributed to Silvester & Co. Sc., 27, Strand, London.			
Text titled *Perspective View of the Tunnel Now Making Under the Thames, between Rotherhithe & Wapping, about Two Miles below London Bright* on the reverse of the slipcase.			
Cut-out panels essentially the same as those of *The Tunnel* [a].			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 198	See Hyde, *Paper Peepshows* , 179 for full text.
***The Tunnel* [c]**			2 Copies
11.8 x 14.5 x 66 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured etching. Published in June 1825.			
Anonymous publisher. Probably published in London.			
Text titled *Perspective View of the Tunnel Now Making Under the Thames, between Rotherhithe & Wapping, about Two Miles below London Bright* on the reverse of the slipcase (same text as that on the slipcase of *The Tunnel* [b]).			
Slipcase colour of different copies not identical.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Yale Center for British Art	GV1199. P4	Nil
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 199	Nil

***The Tunnel* [d]**			1 Copy
11.5 x 15 x 62 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured etching. Published in c1825.			
Anonymous publisher. Probably published in London.			
Manuscript text titled *Perspective View of the Tunnel Now Making Under the Thames, between Rotherhithe & Wapping, about Two Miles below London Bright* on the reverse of the slipcase (incomplete version of the text on the slipcase of *The Tunnel* [b]).			
Cut-out panels largely the same as those of *The Tunnel* [c], with minor changes to figures.			
Corresponds to work 'No. 145a' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 75.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 200	See Hyde, *Paper Peepshows* , 180 for details about the text.

***A View of the Tunnel under the Thames, as It Will Appear when Completed* [a]**			1 Copy
Slipcase title *A View of the Tunnel under the Thames* .			
11.3 x 14.3 x 62 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Medium unknown. Published in November 1827.			
Imprint 'Pubd. Novr. 1827' on the front of the slipcase. Published by S.F. Gouyn, in London.			
Priced 2s or 3s (superior edition).			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Museum of London Docklands	29.116	Nil

***A View of the Tunnel under the Thames, as It Will Appear when Completed* [b]**			5 Copies
Slipcase title *A View of the Tunnel under the Thames* .			
11.5 x 14.5 x 62 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured aquatint. Published on 1 February 1828.			
Imprint 'Pubd. Feby. 1828' on the front of the slipcase. Imprint 'Pubd. Feb. 1. 1828 by S.F. Gouyn, 7, Fish St. Hill [London]' on the front-face.			
Priced 2s or 3s (superior edition).			
Front-face colour and cut-out panels design of different copies not always identical.			
Corresponds to work 'No. 146' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 75.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Library Company of Philadelphia	No. 000312483	Imprint 'Pubd. Decr. 1828' on the front of the slipcase.
1	Morgan Library & Museum, Pierpont Morgan Library Department of Printed Books	PML 86111	Nil
1	Oxford University Libraries, Bodleian Library, Opie Collection of Children's Literature	Opie E 74	Retailer's label on the reverse of the slipcase: 'W. & A. Essex, Bazaar, Nos. 333, 4, 5, & 6, Soho Square.'
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 208	Ribbons attached to the top of the front-face and the back-board; Retailer's label on the reverse of the slipcase: 'W. & A. Essex, Bazaar, Nos. 333, 4, 5, & 6, Soho Square.'
1	Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection	GV1199. V53	Nil

***A View of the Tunnel under the Thames, as It Will Appear when Completed* [c]**			6 Copies
Slipcase title *A View of the Tunnel under the Thames* .			
11.5 x 14.5 x 62 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured aquatint. Published on August 1 1829.			
Imprint 'Pubd Decr. 1829' on the front of the slipcase. Imprint 'Pubd. Augt. 1. 1829 by M. Gouyn, 7, Fish St. Hill [London]' on the front-face.			
Priced 2s or 3s (superior edition).			
Cut-out panels design of different copies not always identical.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Princeton University Library, Cotsen Children's Library	2010-0864N	Nil
1	Middlebury College Libraries, Special Collections	TF238.T47 V54 1829	Retailer's label on the reverse of the slipcase: 'W. & A. Essex, Bazaar, Soho Square;' Price erased from the work.
1	Oxford University Libraries, Bodleian Library, Ryder Archive	Opie E 74	Former owner John Ryder (1917-2001).
1	Smithsonian Libraries, The Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology	TA820. L8V66 1829	Retailer's label on the front of the slipcase: '[So]ld by C. Essex & Co. Gloster St. St.' [incomplete]; Manuscript inscription on the corner of the slipcase: 'E.L.M. Aug. 25 1831.'
1	Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books	1946355	Slipcase made of marbled paper.
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 213	Retailer's label on the front of the slipcase: '[Sold] by C. Essex & Co. Gloster St. St. John's [Road].'

***A View of the Tunnel under the Thames, as It Will Appear when Completed* [d]**			1 Copy
Slipcase title *A View of the Tunnel under the Thames* .			
11.8 x 14.3 cm (closed), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured etching. Published on 1 August 1830.			
Imprint 'Pubd. Augt. 1. 1830 by M. Gouyn, London' on the front-face.			
Priced 2s or 3s (superior edition).			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Morgan Library & Museum, Pierpont Morgan Library Department of Printed Books	PML 88506	Gift of Julia P. Wightman, 1991.

***A View of the Tunnel under the Thames, as It Will Appear when Completed* [e]**			2 Copies
Slipcase title *A View of the Tunnel under the Thames* .			
11.3 x 14.3 x 62 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Medium unknown. Published on 1 August 1834.			
Imprint 'Pubd. Aug. 1. 1834 by M. Gouyn, London' on the front-face.			
Priced 2s.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Richard Balzer, Private Collection	No. 0671	Lacking the slipcase.
1	V&A Museum of Childhood	E.2520-1924	Nil

***Thames Tunnel* [c]**			2 Copies
12 x 14.5 x 23.5 cm (expanded), 1 cut-out panel, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured aquatint and steel engraving. Published in c1835.			
Anonymous publisher. Probably published in London.			
Slipcases of different copies not identical.			
Corresponds to work 'No. 149' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 76.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Princeton University Library, Cotsen Children's Library	Oversize 2007-0169Q	Manuscript inscription on the front of the slipcase: 'Mrs Webster Gordon;' Manuscript inscription on the front-face: 'Mrs Webster Gordon 1854;' Gift of Gerald J. Levy, 1991.
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 230	Manuscript inscription on the front of the slipcase: 'Mrs Richard Beamish [wife of the resident engineer for the Tunnel] 1835;' Accompanied by a sheet explaining the Tunnel construction and the purpose of the paper peepshow (see Hyde, *Paper Peepshows* , 45 for full text).
River Thames and Tunnel			1 Copy
18 x 23.5 x 79 cm (expanded), 3 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, double-level, housed in a shallow box, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured lithograph. Published in c1843.			
Anonymous publisher. Probably published in London.			
Corresponds to work 'No. 157' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 79.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 238	Nil

[*Thames Tunnel*] [a]			1 Copy
11.3 x 7.5 x 26 cm (expanded), 3 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured wood engraving. Published in c1843.			
Made from the construction sheet *Amusement for the Ingenious or Mechanical* (printed for and published by G. Purkis, Compton Street, Soho [London]).			
Corresponds to work 'No. 160' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 79-80.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 239	Nil

[*Thames Tunnel*] [b]			3 Copies
13.8 x 19 x 54 cm (expanded), 3 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in paper covers (20 x 14 cm), paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured steel engraving and hand-coloured aquatint. Published in c1843.			
Publisher's imprint 'T.C. Brandon, Perspective View Manufacturer, Counter 46, Thames Tunnel, or 34, Paradise-street, Rotherhithe' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.			
Text titled *An Explanation of the Tunnel under the Thames* on the inside of the front cover.			
Paper covers and the placement and colour of figures of different copies not always identical.			
Corresponds to the work 'Variant [first] of No. 162' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 80.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Bill Douglas Cinema Museum	69270	Nil
1	London Metropolitan Archives, Special Collections	SC/GL/PAN/001/p5410286	Lacking the front-cover.
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 240	Nil

[*Thames Tunnel*] [c]			3 Copies
16 x 17 x 56 cm (expanded), 3 cut-out panels, 3 peep-holes, double-level, housed in paper covers (17.8 x 16 cm), paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured steel engraving. Published in c1843.			
Publisher's imprint of T.C. Brandon on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.			
Text titled *An Explanation of the Tunnel under the Thames* on the inside of the front cover.			
Corresponds to work 'No. 162' or its variant [second] in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 80.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Museo Nazionale del Cinema	M02097	Address of Brandon at the end of the text: 'Counters 5, 45, 46, Thames Tunnel, or 3, Tunnel-road, Rotherhithe;' Corresponds to No. 162 variant [second].
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 241	Address of Brandon at the end of the text: 'Perspective View Manufacturer, Counter 46, Thames Tunnel, or 34, Paradise-street, Rotherhithe;' Imprint on the back-scene: '[Bran]don Del. Engraver, Printer & Publisher 41 T[hames Tunnel];' The opening date of the Tunnel is mistakenly printed as March 25th, 1845 in the text; corresponds to No. 162.
1	Winterthur Library, Manuscript Collection	Col. 121, series VI.B., acc. 74x438.830	Lacking the front cover.

***Thames Tunnel* [d]**			1 Copy
10.5 x 17 x 40 cm (expanded), 2 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured steel engraving. Published in c1843.			
Publisher's imprint 'T.C. Brandon, Perspective View Manufacturer, Counter 46, Thames Tunnel, or 34, Paradise-street, Rotherhithe' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.			
Text titled *An Explanation of the Tunnel under the Thames* on the inside of the front cover.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 242	Bookplate: 'From the library of Anne Renier and F.G. Renier.'
[*Thames Tunnel*] [d]			1 Copy
11 x 16 x 48 cm (expanded), 2 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in recycled book covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured steel engraving and hand-coloured aquatint. Published in c1843.			
T.C. Brandon del. Publisher's imprint 'B. Azulay, Perspective View Manufacturer, Counters 27, 41, and 62 [Thames Tunnel, London]' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.			
Text titled *A Succinct Account of the Thames Tunnel* on the inside of the front cover.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 243	Nil
[*The Thames and the Thames Tunnel*] [a]			1 Copy
Two separate paper peepshows mounted together, 11.1 x 20 cm (closed), one side expands to 70 cm, 3 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, one side expands to 68 cm, 3 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in recycled leather covers with the letters 'E. & C.' in gilt (22.2 x 12 cm), paper bellows left and right.			
One side hand-coloured etching and hand-coloured wood engraving, one side hand-coloured aquatint. Published in c1843.			
Attributed to Bondy Azulay.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 244	Nil

***A Perspective View of the Thames and the Thames Tunnel. History of the Thames Tunnel* [a]**			1 Copy
20.3 x 17 x 57 cm (expanded), 3 cut-out panels, 3 peep-holes, double-level, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured steel engraving and hand-coloured line engraving. Published in c1843.			
Imprint 'Published by Azulay, Thames Tunnel' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.			
Text titled *A Brief Account of the Thames Tunnel* (version 1) on the inside of the front cover.			
Corresponds to work 'No. 173' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 84.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 245	Nil

[*Thames Tunnel*] [e]			1 Copy
11.5 x 17 x 43 cm (expanded), 2 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured steel engraving. Published in c1843.			
Attributed to T.C. Brandon.			
Text titled *An Explanation of the Tunnel under the Thames* on the inside of the front cover.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 246	Nil

***Thames Tunnel* [e]**			1 Copy
13 x 20 cm (closed), 3 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in recycled book covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Medium unknown. Published in c1843.			
Publisher's imprint 'B. Azulay, Perspective View Manufacturer, Counters 27, 41, and 62, Thames Tunnel' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.			
Text titled *Thames Tunnel* on the inside of the front cover.			
Corresponds to work 'No. 171' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 82.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Smithsonian Libraries, The Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology	TA820. L8T366 1843	One print clipping not originally from the work pasted on the second and third cut-out panel respectively.

***The Thames Tunnel* [a]**			1 Copy
9.8 x 15.3 x 53 cm (expanded), 3 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured engraving. Published in c1843.			
Publisher's imprint 'B. Azulay, Perspective View Manufacturer, Counters 27, 41, and 62, Thames Tunnel' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.			
Text titled *Thames Tunnel* on the inside of the front cover.			
Corresponds to work 'No. 170' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 82.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Science Museum	1981-1751	Nil

[*The Thames and the Thames Tunnel*] [b]			1 Copy
Two separate paper peepshows mounted together, 11.2 x 19.6 cm (closed), one side expands to 65 cm, 3 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, one side expands to 66 cm, 3 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in recycled leather covers with the letters 'E. & C.' and 'DOBELL. VESTINGS' in gilt (11.5 x 22 cm), paper bellows left and right.			
One side hand-coloured etching and hand-coloured wood engraving, one side hand-coloured steel engraving and hand-coloured aquatint. Published in c1843.			
Attributed to Bondy Azulay.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 247	Nil

***Thames Tunnel* [f]**			1 Copy
9 x 14 cm (closed), 2 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured lithograph. Published in c1843.			
Attributed to Bondy Azulay.			
Corresponds to work 'No. 166' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 81.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Smithsonian Libraries, The Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology	TA820. L8T366 1843b mini	Manuscript inscription on the left bellow: 'Tilkäner Andrea Johnsen.'

The Tunnel under the Thames			1 Copy
Two separate paper peepshows mounted together, dimensions unknown, one side 1 peep-hole, one side 2 peep-holes, housed in recycled leather covers with the letters 'E. & C.' and 'Docskins' in gilt, paper bellows left and right.			
Medium unknown. Published in c1843.			
Anonymous Publisher (in the style of Bondy Azulay). Probably published in London.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	François Binétruy, Private Collection	N/A	Nil
A Brief Account of the Thames Tunnel **[a]**			1 Copy
11 x 18 cm (closed), 3 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Medium unknown. Published in c1844.			
Imprint 'Published by Azulay, Thames Tunnel' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.			
Text titled *A Brief Account of the Thames Tunnel* (version 1) on the inside of the front cover.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Guildhall Library	S PAM 813	Nil
A Perspective View of the Thames and the Thames Tunnel. History of the Thames Tunnel **[b]**			1 Copy
20 x 15 cm (closed), 3 cut-out panels, 3 peep-holes, double-level, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured steel engraving. Published in c1844.			
Imprint 'Published by Azulay, Thames Tunnel' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.			
Text titled *A Full Account of the Thames Tunnel* (version 1) on the inside of the front cover.			
Likely to be a later version of the work 'Variant of No. 173' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 84.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Smithsonian Libraries, The Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology	TA820. L8P46 1844	Nil

A Perspective View of the Thames Tunnel			1 Copy
Dimensions unknown, 2 cut-out panels, 3 peep-holes, double-level, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Medium unknown. Published in c1845.			
Attributed to Bondy Azulay.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	National Maritime Museum	PBC6883	Nil
History of the Thames Tunnel			1 Copy
20.1 x 18 x 53 cm (expanded), 2 cut-out panels, 3 peep-holes, double-level, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured lithograph. Published in c1845.			
Published by Bondy Azulay.			
Text titled *A Brief Account of the Thames Tunnel* (version unknown) on the inside of the front cover.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Richard Balzer, Private Collection	No. 1148	Nil
A Perspective View of the Thames and the Thames Tunnel. History of the Thames Tunnel **[c]**			2 Copies
20.3 x 17 cm (closed), 2 cut-out panels, 3 peep-holes, double-level, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Medium unknown. Published in 1846.			
Imprint 'Published by Azulay, Thames Tunnel' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.			
Text titled *A Brief Account of the Thames Tunnel* (version 2) on the inside of the front cover.			
Paper covers and the colour of the label of different copies not always identical.			
Corresponds to the work 'No. 174' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 84.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Museum of London Docklands	83.456	Lacking the title label on the front cover.
1	National Railway Museum	1998-10438	Housed in a modern cloth folder, embroidered with birds, flowers, and cottages; Label of the front-face print partly cut away.

Thames Tunnel Peep Show			1 Copy
Dimensions unkonwn, 2 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in recycled book covers with letters 'T.C. Newby 1846,' paper bellows left and right.			
Medium unknown. Published in c1846.			
Attributed to Bondy Azulay.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	National Railway Museum	1998-11940	A circular label on the reverse of the front cover: 'A Present from the Thames Tunnel.'
Untitled			1 Copy
23 x 20 x 82 cm (expanded), 4 cut-out panels, 3 peep-holes, double-level, paper bellows left and right.			
Medium unkonwn. Published in 1848. Probably published in London.			
Anonymous publisher (in the style of T.C. Brandon or Bondy Azulay).			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Cinémathèque Française	AP-94-119	Nil
A Perspective View of the Thames and the Thames Tunnel. History of the Thames Tunnel **[d]**			2 Copies
20 x 17 x 47 cm (expanded), 2 cut-out panels, 3 peep-holes, double-level, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured steel engraving and hand-coloured line engraving. Published in c1850.			
Imprint 'Published by Azulay, Thames Tunnel' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.			
Text titled *A Full Account of the Thames Tunnel* (version 2) on the inside of the front cover.			
Corresponds to work 'No. 175' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 84.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Science Museum	1981-1749	Nil
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 249	The title not in

A Present from the Thames Tunnel				1 Copy
12 x 17 cm (closed), 2 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.				
Hand-coloured wood engraving. Published in c1850.				
Attributed to Bondy Azulay.				
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**	
1	Brown University Libraries, John Hay Library, Starred Book Collection	TA820.L6 P74 1843	Nil	
A Brief Account of the Thames Tunnel **[b]**				1 Copy
12 x 16 cm (closed), 3 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.				
Medium unknown. Published in c1851.				
Imprint 'Published by Azulay, Thames Tunnel' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.				
Text titled *A Brief Account of the Thames Tunnel* (version 1) on the inside of the front cover.				
Corresponds to work 'Variant [second] of No. 169' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 82.				
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**	
1	Princeton University Library, Cotsen Children's Library	2011-0054N	Nil	
A Brief Account of the Thames Tunnel **[c]**				1 Copy
12 x 16 cm (closed), 3 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.				
Medium unknown. Published in c1851.				
Publisher's imprint 'Azulay, Printer, Thames Tunnel' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.				
Text titled *A Brief Account of the Thames Tunnel* (version 1) on the inside of the front cover.				
Corresponds to work 'Variant [first] of No. 169' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 82.				
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**	
1	Smithsonian Libraries, The Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology	TA820. L8T366 1851	Nil	

[*Thames Tunnel*] [f]			1 Copy
11.5 x 15.5 x 47 cm (expanded), 3 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured lithograph. Published in c1851.			
Attributed to Bondy Azulay.			
Corresponds to work 'No. 164' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 81.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 259	Nil
[*Thames Tunnel*] [g]			1 Copy
11.4 x 9.5 x 36 cm (expanded), 2 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured lithograph. Published in c1851.			
Publisher's imprint 'B. Azulay, Thames Tunnel' on the reverse of the back-board.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 260	Nil
***The Thames Tunnel* [b]**			1 Copy
Dimensions unknown, 3 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, housed in paper covers, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured line engraving. Published in c1851.			
Publisher's imprint 'Azulay, Printer, Thames Tunnel' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.			
Text titled *A Brief Account of the Thames Tunnel* (version 1) on the inside of the front cover.			
Corresponds to work 'No. 169a' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 82.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	London Metropolitan Archives, Special Collections	SC/GL/PAN/004/M0022755CL	Nil

***A Brief Account of the Thames Tunnel* [d]**			1 Copy
12 x 17 cm (closed), 2 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured wood engraving and hand-coloured lithograph. Published in c1854.			
Imprint 'Published by Azulay, in the Thames Tunnel' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.			
Text titled *A Brief Account of the Thames Tunnel* (version 1) on the inside of the front cover.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Yale Center for British Art	GV1199. B68	Nil
A Perspective View of the Thames and the Thames Tunnel			2 Copies
20 x 17.2 x 47 cm (expanded), 2 cut-out panels, 3 peep-holes, double-level, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured steel engraving and hand-coloured line engraving. Published in c1854.			
Imprint 'Published by Azulay, Thames Tunnel' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.			
Text titled *A Full Account of the Thames Tunnel* (version 3) on the inside of the front cover.			
Corresponds to work 'No. 176a' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 85.			
Very similar to *History of the Thames Tunnel* .			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Smithsonian Libraries, The Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology	TA820. L8P46 1854	Nil
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 265	Nil
***Thames Tunnel* [g]**			1 Copy
8 x 12 x 43 cm (expanded), 3 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured etching. Published in c1860.			
Attributed to Bondy Azulay.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Richard Balzer, Private Collection	No. 0672	Nil

[*The Thames Tunnel*] [c]			1 Copy
8.5 x 12.1 x 34 cm (expanded), 2 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in recycled book covers with the title 'Baxter's Satins Rest,' paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured wood engraving. Published in c1860.			
Attributed to Bondy Azulay.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 266	Nil
[*The Thames Tunnel*] [d]			1 Copy
6.5 x 10.5 x 30 cm (expanded), 3 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in recycled book covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured wood engraving. Published in c1860.			
Attributed to Bondy Azulay.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 267	Nil
[*The Thames Tunnel*] [e]			1 Copy
7 x 10.5 x 35 cm (expanded), 3 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in recycled book covers (11 x 8 cm), paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured steel engraving. Published in c1860.			
Attributed to Bondy Azulay.			
Cut-out panels essentially the same as those of [*The Thames Tunnel*] [d].			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 268	Nil

[*The Thames Tunnel*] [f]			1 Copy
10.8 x 17.6 x 44 cm (expanded), 2 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in recycled book covers with the title 'Hemans' Life and Works Vol. III,' paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured steel engraving and hand-coloured aquatint. Published in c1860.			
Imprint 'Printed and published by Azulay, Thames Tunnel' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.			
Text titled *A Brief Account of the Thames Tunnel* (actual content same as *A Full Account of the Thames Tunnel* version 3) on the inside of the front cover.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 269	Nil
[*Thames Tunnel*] [h]			1 Copy
9.6 x 13.2 x 37 cm (expanded), 2 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured wood engraving. Published in c1860.			
Attributed to Bondy Azulay.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 270	A circular label on the front cover: 'A Present from the Thames Tunnel.'
[*Thames Tunnel*] [i]			1 Copy
11.4 x 16 x 44 cm (expanded), 2 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured line engraving. Published in c1860.			
Attributed to Bondy Azulay.			
Corresponds to work 'No. 177' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 85 but without explanatory text.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 271	A circular label on the front cover: 'Bought in the Thames Tunnel.'A408A401:O419

The Thames Tunnel **[c]**			1 Copy
Dimensions unknown, 2 cut-out panels, 3 peep-holes, double-level, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Medium unknown. Published in 1861.			
Publisher's imprint 'B. Azulay, Thames Tunnel' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.			
Text titled *A Brief Account of the Thames Tunnel* (version 3) on the inside of the front cover.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Oxford University Libraries, John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera	Games drawer 7	Nil
[*Thames Tunnel*] [j]			1 Copy
11.5 x 15.5 x 45 cm (expanded), 2 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured line engraving. Published in 1862.			
Imprint 'Published by B. Azulay, Thames Tunnel' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.			
Text titled *A Brief Account of the Thames Tunnel* (version 3) on the inside of the front cover.			
Cut-out panels essentially the same as those of [*Thames Tunnel*] [f].			
Corresponds to work 'Variant of No. 177' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 85.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 275	Nil

[*The Thames and the Thames Tunnel*] [c]			1 Copy
20 x 16 x 45 cm (expanded), 2 cut-out panels, 3 peep-holes, double-level, housed in paper covers, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured lithograph. Published in c1862.			
Publisher's imprint 'B. Azulay, Thames Tunnel' on the inside of the front cover, at the end of the explanatory text.			
Text titled *A Brief Account of the Thames Tunnel* (version 3) on the inside of the front cover.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 276	A circular label on the front cover: 'A Present from the Thames Tunnel.'
***The Thames Tunnel* [d]**			3 Copies
9.3 x 12.2 x 29 cm (expanded), 2 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, in a slipcase, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured lithograph. Published in c1865.			
Anonymous publisher.			
Corresponds to work 'No. 161' in Chrimes, Elton, May, 'The Catalogue,' 80.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	George Eastman Museum Library, Special Collections	DA687.T3 T53 1865	Cut-out panels numbered '1' and '2' at top centre.
1	Smithsonian Libraries, The Dibner Library of the History of Science and Technology	TA820. L8T366 1843c mini	Slipcase not original; Manuscript inscription on the slipcase: 'Given to A.B. Tebbs Febr. 10th 1884 at age 6 (six) by Grandmar Ridley.'
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 277	Cut-out panels numbered '1' and '2' at top

[*The Thames Tunnel*] [a]			1 Copy
11 x 14 x 62 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, cloth bellows top and bottom.			
Pen and ink and watercolour. Made in c1825.			
Homemade paper peepshow. Anonymous maker. Location of production unknown.			
Cut-out panels design draws largely on that of *The Tunnel* [a].			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 201	Nil

[*The Thames Tunnel*] [b]			1 Copy
11.5 x 15 x 62 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Pen and ink and watercolour. Made in c1825.			
Homemade paper peepshow. Anonymous maker. Location of production unknown.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 202	Watermark in the paper bellows 'JC [?] OMPTON HARRIS 1824;' Pencil sketches of an unidentified landscape on the reverse of the cut-out panels.

***The Thames Tvnnel* [sic]**			1 Copy
10.5 x 13.5 x 68 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Pen and ink and watercolour. Made in c1825.			
Homemade paper peepshow. Anonymous maker. Location of production unknown.			
Cut-out panels design draws largely from that of *The Tunnel* [a].			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 203	Watermark in the paper bellows 'C Willmott 1817.'

Tunnel under the Thames as It Will Appear when Finished, 600 Feet already Completed			1 Copy
11.5 x 13.7 x 61 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Ink wash and watercolour. Made in c1828.			
Homemade paper peepshow. Anonymous maker. Location of production unknown.			
Cut-out panels design draws largely from that of *A View of the Tunnel under the Thames, as It Will Appear when Completed* [a].			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 209	Manuscript inscription on the reverse of the back-board: 'Louise Williams the gift of Miss Bowles 1836.'

Thames Tunnel **[a]**			1 Copy
13 x 14.8 x 43 cm (expanded), 4 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Pen and ink and watercolour. Made in c1830.			
Homemade paper peepshow. Anonymous maker. Location of production unknown, possibly in England.			
Cut-out panels design draws partly on that of *The Tunnel* [a].			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 217	Watermark in the paper bellows: 'Stoke Mill 1826.'

Thames Tunnel **[b]**			1 Copy
11.9 x 14.7 x 60 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Medium unknown. Made in c1830.			
Homemade paper peepshow. Anonymous maker. Location of production unknown.			
Cut-out panels design draws partly from that of *A View of the Tunnel under the Thames* [a].			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Camera Obscura mit dem Museum zur Vorgeschichte des	Not available	Nil

Theatrorama, or a Peep at the Playhouse			2 Copies
10.7 x 13 x 40 cm (closed), 4 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured aquatint. Published in c1825.			
Anonymous publisher. Published in England.			
Slipcases of different copies not identical.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 205	Nil
1	Yale Center for British Art	GV1525. T44 1825	Nil
[*Masquerade*]			1 Copy
25 x 36.4 x 48 cm (expanded), 4 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured lithograph. Published in 1826.			
Lithographed by T. M. Baynes. Published by S. & J. Fuller.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 207	Nil
The Vauxhall Juvenile Fete			1 Copy
11.5 x 14.5 x 61 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured etching. Published in c1828.			
Anonymous publisher. Location of publication unknown.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 206	Watermark 'R. Munn & Co. 1828' in the paper bellows.

A Peep at the Elephant at the Adelphi Theatre			2 Copies
10.8 x 14 x 45 cm (expanded), 4 cut-out panel, the last panel with a movable part, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured aquatint. Published in 1829.			
Anonymous publisher. Location of publication unknown.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Oxford University Libraries, Bodleian Library, Opie Collection of Children's Literature	Opie E 67	Manuscript inscription 'panorama at the Adelphi theatre' on the reverse of the slipcase; Lacking the first cut-out panel; Watercolour added to the centre of the second cut-out panel; Last two cut-out panels assembled in the wrong order; Watercolour on the reverse of the back-board.
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 214	Lacking the slipcase.

[*A Formal Ball*]				1 Copy
14 x 16 cm (closed), 7 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, equipped with a back-mounted lens, cloth bellows top and bottom.				
Pen and ink and gouache on paper, with gauze fabric, embossed gilt, and glass. Made in c1815.				
Homemade paper peepshow made of print clippings. Anonymous maker. Location of production unknown.				
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**	
1	Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection	GV1199. F58	Nil	

[*A Ball*]			1 Copy
13.5 x 16 x 41 cm (expanded), 7 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, equipped with a back-mounted lens (broken), muslin bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured lithograph and muslin. Made in c1830.			
Homemade paper peepshow made of print clippings. Anonymous maker. Location of production unknown, possibly in England.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 219	A blind stamp of 'Turnbull's Crayon Board' at the base of the seventh cut-out panel; Manuscript inscription on the reverse of the back-board: 'Mary Anderson from dear Aunt Robert.'

	The Areaorama, a View in the Regent's Park		9 Copies
11.2 x 14 x 68 cm (expanded), 6 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured etching. Published on 1 May 1825.			
Imprint 'Pubd. 1 May, 1825 by S. & J. Fuller, 34, Rathbone Place [London]' on the front of the slipcase.			
Priced 7s. 6d (cited in Hyde, *Paper Peepshows* , 176).			
Slipcase colour of different copies not always identical.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Columbia University Avery Classics, Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library	AA9065 L8 Ar31 S	Nil
2	Indiana University Libraries, Lilly Library	DA685.R33 A67 (for both copies)	Copy 1 with the bookplate of Sir David Lionel Goldsmid-Stern-Salomons, from the library of Elisabeth Ball; Copy 2 with the bookplate of Ruth E. Adomeit.
1	London Metropolitan Archives, Special Collections	SC/GL/PAN/001/p5389712	Slipcase not original.
1	Morgan Library & Museum, Pierpont Morgan Library Department of Printed Books	PML 88118	Retailer's label on the front of the slipcase: 'R. Ackermann Jurn. 191, Regent Street.'
2	Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books	1830583 (for both copies)	Gift of Carolyn Gray.
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 193	Retailer's label on the front of the slipcase: 'R. Ackermann Jurn. 191, Regent Street.'
1	Yale Center for British Art	GV1199. A7	Front-face fallen out.

The Areaorama, a View on the Thames			1 Copy
11.5 x 14 x 58 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured etching. Published in c1825.			
Published by S. & J. Fuller.			
Priced 7s. 6d (cited in Hyde, *Paper Peepshows* , 176).			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 194	Nil
Viaorama, or the Way to St. Paul's			2 Copies
17 x 16.1 x 29 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured lithograph. Published in December 1825.			
Imprint 'Pub. by Ingrey & Madeley, 310 Strand [London]' on the front of the slipcase. Imprint 'Pubd. Decr. 1825 by Ingrey & Madeley, Lithographic Office 310, Strand London' on the front face.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Museum of London	A17780	Nil
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 197	Nil

***View of the Mall in St. James's Park* [a]**			4 Copies
Slipcase title *St. James's Park. The New Palace* .			
10.5 x 13.5 x 62 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured aquatint. Published in 1829.			
Imprint 'London. Published by the Engraver, 1829' on the front-face.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	George Eastman Museum Library, Mary Faulk Markiewicz Collection of Children's Book (University of Rochester)	PZ86.1 1829 .V54	Nil
1	Indiana University Libraries, Lilly Library	DA689.S12 V67	From the library of Elisabeth Ball.
1	Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection of Early Children’s Books	1516567	Nil
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 212	Retailer's label on the slipcase: 'Sold Wholesale by C. Essex & Co., Gloster Street, St. Johns St. Road, [London].'
Interior View of Brighton Royal Chain Pier			1 Copy
11 x 14 x 54 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured aquatint. Published in c1829.			
Anonymous publisher. Location of publication unknown.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 215	Nil
***View of the Mall in St. James's Park* [b]**			1 Copy
Slipcase title *St. James's Park. The New Palace* .			
10.5 x 13.5 x 50 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured aquatint. Published in 1830.			
Imprint 'London. Published by the Engraver, 1830' on the front of the slipcase.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 216	Nil

A Peep at the Pier at Brighton			1 Copy
Dimensions unknown, 4 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Medium unknown. Published in c1830.			
Anonymous publisher. Location of publication unknown.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Oxford University Libraries, Bodleian Library, Opie Collection of Children's Literature	Opie E 67a	Nil
The Cheltenhamorama, a View of the Old Well Walk **[a]**			3 Copies
16 x 11.7 x 68 cm (expanded), 6 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured lithograph. Published in c1832.			
Imprint 'Published by H. Lamb, Cheltenham' on the front of the slipcase.			
Priced 7s. 6d.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	V&A Museum of Childhood	MISC.13-1952	Nil
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 226	Nil
1	Wilson Art Gallery and Museum	1999.95	Nil
The Cheltenhamorama, a View of the Old Well Walk **[b]**			1 Copy
15 x 10.8 x 69 cm (expanded), 6 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured lithograph. Published in c1832.			
Imprint 'Published by H. Lamb, 421, High-Street, and at the Royal Wells, Cheltenham' on the front of the slipcase.			
Priced 7s. 6d.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 227	Nil

[*St. Leonards' on Sea. Sussex*]			1 Copy
13.6 x 14.3 x 51 cm (expanded), 4 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Watercolour. Made in c1838.			
Anonymous maker. Location of production unknown.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 233	Manuscript inscription on the reverse of the front-face, : 'St. Leonards on Sea Sussex. Founded by James Burton Esq., for some years sole proprietor. 1st stone laid 1st March 1828. Opening of the hotel celebrated 26th October 1829. National school commenced February 1829. 1st dispatch coach started 5th June 1830. 1st stone of the church laid by Her Royal Highness the Princess Sophia Matilda of Gloucester 8th September 1831.'
St. Leonards on Sea. Sussex			1 Copy
13.6 x 14.5 x 64 cm (expanded), 4 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured lithograph, with the figures heightened with gum arabic. Published in c1840.			
Anonymous publisher. Location of publication unknown.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 234	Nil
Telescopic View of the Chain Pier, Brighton			1 Copy
16.4 x 17.9 x 70 cm (expanded), 3 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured lithograph. Published in c1842-1843.			
Anonymous Publisher. Printed by C. Moody (cited in Hyde, *Paper Peepshows* , 197). Imprint 'D.H. Greenin, Fancy Repository, East St. Brighton' on the front-face. Location of publication unknown, probably in Brighton.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
2	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 237	Nil

C.A. Lane's Telescopic View of London and the Thames, from the Duke of York's Column, Carlton Gardens			4 Copies
16 x 19.5 x 52 cm (expanded), 4 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, equipped with a back-mounted lens, cloth bellows left and right.			
Chromolithograph. Published in c1852.			
Imprint 'Published by C.A. Lane, 46, Stanhope St. Hampstead Rd. for the proprietor, Entd. Sta. Hall. Price [blank]' on the front of the slipcase and on the front-face.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	British Library	HS.74/2087	Nil
1	London Metropolitan Archives, Special Collections	SC/GL/PAN/003/M0010415CL	Lacking the slipcase.
2	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 261 and Gestetner 262	In Gestetner 261, manuscript inscription '4/6d' on the slipcase after the printed word 'price;' Manuscript inscription '4/-' on the front-face after the printed word 'price;' In Gestetner 261, manuscript inscription on the reverse of the back-board: 'Mr. C.A. Lane to Harriet A. Roper, 1852.'

The Wye, Newland House				1 Copy
12.5 x 16 cm (closed), 3 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows top and bottom.				
Watercolour. Made in c1819.				
Homemade paper peepshow. Made by F.J. Durbin. Made in England.				
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**	
1	Princeton University Library, Cotsen Children's Library	Eng 18 3012	Manuscript inscription on the reverse of the back-board 'The Wye, Newland House,' 'F.J. Durbin,' and 'Sarah Buck 1819, sister of Ann Durbin;' Manuscript numbers '2' and '3' on the reverse of the third and second cut-out panel respectively.	

Shipping on the Thames				1 Copy
16.8 x 21.2 x 48 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows top and bottom.				
Hand-coloured etching. Made in c1825.				
Homemade paper peepshow made of print clippings. Anonymous maker. Location of production unknown.				
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**	
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 204	Nil	

Wonders of Cheltenham				1 Copy
15.5 x 18.5 x 88 cm (expanded), 10 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, equipped with a back-mounted lens, muslin bellows top and bottom.				
Watercolour drawing and muslin. Made in c1828.				
Homemade paper peepshow. Anonymous maker. Location of production unknown.				
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**	
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 210	Nil	

View from L'Angostura de Paine in Chile			1 Copy
19.2 x 24.5 x 46 cm (expanded), 3 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Watercolour drawing. Made in c1835.			
Homemade paper peepshow. Attributed to Maria Graham. Location of production unknown.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 228	Handwritten title on the reverse of the back-board.
Sea View			1 Copy
15 x 20.5 x 52 cm (expanded), 3 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Watercolour drawing. Made in c1835.			
Homemade paper peepshow. Attributed to Maria Graham. Location of production unknown.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 229	Handwritten title on the reverse of the back-board.
[*Sea View*]			1 Copy
14 x 12.2 x 61 cm (expanded), 4 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Watercolour drawing. Made in c1840.			
Homemade paper peepshow. Anonymous maker. Location of production unknown.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 235	Nil

The Burlington Arcade as It Was in 1818....			1 Copy
10.2 x 11.8 cm (closed), 4 cut-out panels, 2 peep-holes, paper bellows left and right.			
Medium unknown. Made in c1868.			
Homemade paper peepshow made of print clippings. Anonymous maker. Location of production unknown.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Oxford University Libraries, Bodleian Library, Opie Collection of Children's Literature	Opie E 68 (Pre 1850 Movables)	Manuscript inscription on the reverse of the front-face: 'Dinner given to Sir E. Baring by the Official Royal Artillery stationed at Cairo.'

Bailey Rawlins's Expanding View of the Great Exhibition, The Nave	1 Copy
16.3 x 18.5 x 60.5 cm (expanded), 7 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, cloth bellows left and right.	
Hand-coloured lithograph and watercolour. Published in 1851.	
Imprint 'Printed in colors [sic] and published for the proprietor by Chas. Moody, 257 High Holborn [London]' on the front of the slipcase and the front-face.	

Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Prints, Drawings & Paintings Collection	E.971-1936	Nil

Bailey Rawlins's Expanding View of the Great Exhibition 1851, Transept	2 Copies
18 x 16.2 x 46.4 cm (expanded), 4 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, cloth bellows left and right.	
Chromolithograph. Published in 1851.	
Imprint 'Printed in colors [sic] and published for the proprietor by Chas. Moody, 257 High Holborn [London]' on the front of the slipcase and the front-face.	

Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Yale University Libraries, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library	LSF- BEINECKE 2006 115	Nil
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 253	Nil

Lane's Telescopic View of the Ceremony of Her Majesty Opening the Great Exhibition,* [sic] *of all Nations			14 Copies
18.6 x 15.2 x 54 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, equipped with a back-mounted lens, in a slipcase, cloth bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured chromolithograph. Published in 1851.			
Imprint 'Designed by Rawlins. Printed & published by C. Lane, 46, Stanhope St. Hampstead Rd. [London]. Entered at Stationer's Hall, 15th August 1851' on the slipcase and front-face.			
Priced 5s. 6d (cited in Hyde, *Paper Peepshows* , 203).			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	François Binétruy, Private Collection	N/A	Nil
1	Getty Research Institute	88-A86 880095	Nil
1	London Metropolitan Archives, Special Collections	SC/GL/PAN/005/ p5408295	The label of J.& J. Forbes on the front-face.
1	Morgan Library & Museum, Pierpont Morgan Library Department of Printed Books	PML 88509	Lacking the slipcase; Gift of Julia P. Wightman, 1991.
1	Museo Nazionale del Cinema	M05075	Lacking the slipcase.
1	Museum of Brands	N/A	Bears the label: 'From James & John Forbes, brush, mat, and toy warehouse, Sloane Square, Chelsea.'
1	Oxford University Libraries, John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera	Games drawer 7	Label on the reverse of the slipcase: 'Mrs. H [?] 65, Courtfield Gardens, S.W.'
1	Richard Balzer, Private Collectio	No. 1147	Nil
1	Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection of Early Children’s Books	2731835	Nil
1	V&A Museum of Childhood	E.2649-1953	Nil
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 254	Nil
3	Yale Center for British Art	GV1199. L28 copy1-3	Nil

Telescopic View of the Great Exhibition, 1851			20 Copies
Slipcase title *1851 Lane's Telescopic View of the Interior of the Great Industrial Exhibition* .			
16 x 17.5 x 64 cm (expanded), 8 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, equipped with a back-mounted lens, in a slipcase, cloth bellows left and right.			
Chromolithograph, front-face heightened with gum arabic. Published in 1851.			
Imprint 'Lithographed & Printed by C. Moody's Lithographic Establishment, 257, High Holborn [London]. Published by C. Lane, 46, Stanhope St. Hampstead Rd. [London]. Entd. at Stationer's Hall, June 3rd 1851' on the front of the slipcase. Imprint 'T.J. Rawlins del. et lith. Printed by C. Moody, 257, High Holborn [London]. Published by C. Lane, 46, Stanhope St. Hampstead Rd [London]. Entered at Stationer's Hall, June 3rd 1851' on the front-face.			
Priced 7s. 6d (cited in Hyde, *Paper Peepshows* , 204).			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Bill Douglas Cinema Museum	69417	Nil
1	British Library	C.194.a.713	Manuscript inscription: Wm. M. Lovett, 49 Commercial Rd., East Dereham, given by Stanley Prior.'
1	Camera Obscura mit dem Museum zur Vorgeschichte des Films	Not available	Nil
1	Columbia University, Avery Classics, Avery Architectural & Fine Arts Library	AA6750 L8 L24	Nil
1	Corrie Allegro Movable Book, Private Collection	N/A	Nil
1	François Binétruy, Private Collection	N/A	Nil
1	George Eastman Museum Library, Mary Faulk Markiewicz Collection of Children's Book (University of Rochester)	PZ86.1 1851 .L36	Lacking the slipcase; Label on the front-face: 'James & John Forbes;' Label on the reverse of the back-board: 'From James & John Forbes' Brush, Mat, and Toy Warehouse, Sloane Square, Chelsea.'
1	Getty Research Institute	88-A86 880095	Nil
1	London Metropolitan Archives, Special Collections	SC/GL/PAN/004/ p5408065	Lacking the slipcase; Front-face coloured differently from other copies; A few objects missing from the panels.

Morgan Library & Museum, Pierpont Morgan Library Department of Printed Books	PML 88508	Lacking the slipcase; Cut-out panels coloured differently from other copies; Gift of Julia P. Wightman, 1991.
Pierre Patau and Elisabeth Calley, Private Collection	N/A	Nil
Princeton University Library, Cotsen Children's Library	Toys 43224	Nil
Toronto Public Library, Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books	2279084	Lacking the slipcase.
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Libraries, Rare Book & Manuscript Library	Briefcat. 65 62	Nil
University of South California Libraries, Special Collection	VAULT GV1525.L36 1851	Nil
V&A Museum of Childhood	MISC.49-1975	Nil
Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 255	Nil
Victoria and Albert Museum, Prints, Drawings & Paintings Collection	E.1352-1933	Given by Miss E. F. Orger.
Webster University Library	T690.C1 L3 1851	Nil
Winterthur Library, Manuscript Collection	Col. 121, series VI.B., acc. 74x438.831	Nil

Spooner's Perspective View of the Great Exhibition			7 Copies
15.7 x 19.5 x 69 cm (expanded), 8 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, cloth bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured lithograph. Published on 9 August 1851.			
Imprint 'Designed by Geoege [*sic* 'George' intended] F. Bragg. London: Published by W. Spooner, 379 Strand [London]' on the front of the slipcase and the front-face. Imprint 'London: Published by William Spooner, 379, Strand, August 9th, 1851' on the reverse of the back-board.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Museum of London	31.16/1	Nil
1	Oxford University Libraries, Bodleian Library, The Schorr Collection of Early Children's Books	Schorr d.11	Lacking the slipcase.
1	Richard Balzer, Private Collection	No. 0666	Lacking the slipcase; Oblong peep-hole.
1	Science Museum	1984-823	Nil
2	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 256 and 257	Oblong peep-hole; Gestetner 257 first cut-out panel lacking the depiction of the Koh-i-noor diamond
1	Yale Center for British Art	GV1199. B62 1851	Nil
Spooner's Perspective View of the Transept of the Great Exhibition			1 Copy
16 x 20 x 35 cm (expanded), 2 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, cloth bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured lithograph. Published on 23 September 1851.			
Imprint 'London. Published by William Spooner, 379, Strand. Septr. 23. 1851' on the front of the slipcase.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Cooper Hewitt, Smithsonian Design Museum	T690. C1 S66 1851	Gift of the Larry Zim World's Fair collection.

Spooner's Perspective View of the Western Nave of the Great Exhibition			2 Copies
15 x 19 x 37 cm (expanded), 2 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, cloth bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured lithograph. Published on 23 September 1851.			
Imprint 'London: Published by William Spooner, 379 Strand, Septr. 23 1851' on the front of the slipcase.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 258	Nil
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Prints, Drawings & Paintings Collection	E.974-1936	Nil

View of the Great Exhibition Telescopically Arranged			2 Copies
15.5 x 18 x 49 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured lithograph. Published in 1851.			
Anonymous publisher. Location of publication unknown.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 250	Bookplate of Eric Quayle of Zennor, Cornwall.
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Prints, Drawings & Paintings Collection	E.970-1936	Nil

The Crystal Palace as a Winter Garden			1 Copy
20 x 16 x 1 cm (closed), 4 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, cloth bellows left and right.			
Coloured lithograph. Published on 20 January 1852.			
Designed by Charles Burton. Published by Ackermann & Co., London.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections	NA6750.L6 C74 1852	Nil

The International Exhibition			1 Copy
9.2 x 12.5 x 27 cm (expanded), 6 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, equipped with a back-mounted lens, small glazed hole in the back-board, paper bellows left and right.			
Hand-coloured lithograph. Published in 1862.			
Imprint 'Dean & Son Pub. Ludgate Hill, London' on the front-face.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 274	Nil

	Ye Olde London Streete			1 Copy
18 x 15 x 48 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, cloth bellows left and right.				
Watercolour. Made in c1884.				
Homemade paper peepshow. Made by G.C.S. Location of production unknown.				
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**	
1	Princeton University Library, Cotsen Children's Library	N-001924	Manuscript inscription on the reverse of the back-board 'Taken from the street in old London shows at the Health Exhibition 1884' and initials 'G.C.S.' that are struck through in pencil, followed by the name 'Mary Dorothea.'	

Pocket Panorama of the Battle of Trafalgar, Beautifully Coloured			2 Copies
12 x 18 x 42 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 removable back-slide, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Published in 1828.			
Imprint 'London: Published by Thomas M'Lean, 26 Haymarket' on the front of the slipcase.			
Priced 8s.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Brown University Libraries, John Hay Library, Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection	Z1033.T68 L67x 1825	Nil
1	National Maritime Museum	ZBA4003	Nil
Pocket Panorama of the Interior of Westminster Abbey, Beautifully Coloured			1 Copy
14 x 10.6 x 64 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 removable back-slide, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured aquatint. Published in 1828.			
Imprint 'London: Published by Thomas M'Lean, 26 Haymarket, London' on the front of the slipcase.			
Priced 8s.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 221	Nil

***A Peep at the Fox Chace* [sic]**				3 Copies
11.3 x 14 x 62 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, in a slipcase, paper bellows top and bottom.				
Hand-coloured etching and aquatint. Published in 1829.				
Imprint 'London. Published by the Engraver, 1829' on the front of the slipcase. Sold by C. Essex & Co., Gloster St., St. John's (cited in Hyde, *Paper Peepshows* , 186).				
Slipcase and front-face colour of different copies not always identical.				
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**	
1	Morgan Library & Museum, Pierpont Morgan Library Department of Printed Books	PML 150313	Gift of Miss Julia P. Wightman, 1994; Retailer's label on the reverse of the slipcase: 'W. & A. Essex, Bazaar, Nos. 333, 4, 5 & 6, Soho Square;' Manuscript inscription on the front of the slipcase: 'Josephine Brewer Smyth.'	
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 211	Nil	
1	Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection	GV1199. P44 1829	Nil	
[*Napoleon on St Helena*]				1 Copy
13 x 18 x 45 cm (expanded), 4 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, the front-face forms the lid to the cartonnage box containing the work, paper bellows left and right.				
Watercolour drawing. Made in c1830.				
Anonymous maker. Location of production unknown.				
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**	
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 220	Nil	

[*Peep-Show Assembled from Figures Cut-Out of Engraved Book Illustrations*]			1 Copy
15 x 12 cm (closed), 8 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Hand-coloured engraving and watercolour. Made in c1824.			
Homemade paper peepshow made of print clippings. Anonymous maker. Made in England.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Princeton University Library, Cotsen Children's Library	Pams / Manuscripts / Box 3 26205	Watermarks on the paper dates from 1824; Bought from Marjorie Moon from a book fair in 1991.

[*Workhouse Scene*]			1 Copy
13.4 x 20.2 x 25 cm (expanded), 3 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, linen-backed board bellows top and bottom.			
Wood engraving and watercolour drawing. Made in c1830.			
Homemade paper peepshow. Anonymous maker. Location of production unknown, possibly in England.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 223	Embossed stamp on the reverse of the second cut-out panel 'Reynolds Bristol Board.'

[*Miscellaneous Subjects*]			1 Copy
12.5 x 31.2 x 72.5 cm (expanded), 5 cut-out panels, 1 peep-hole, paper bellows top and bottom.			
Wood engraving. Made in c1845.			
Homemade paper peepshow. Anonymous maker. Location of production unknown.			
Quantity	**Collection**	**Reference No.**	**Notes**
1	Victoria and Albert Museum, Gestetner Collection	Gestetner 248	Nil

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